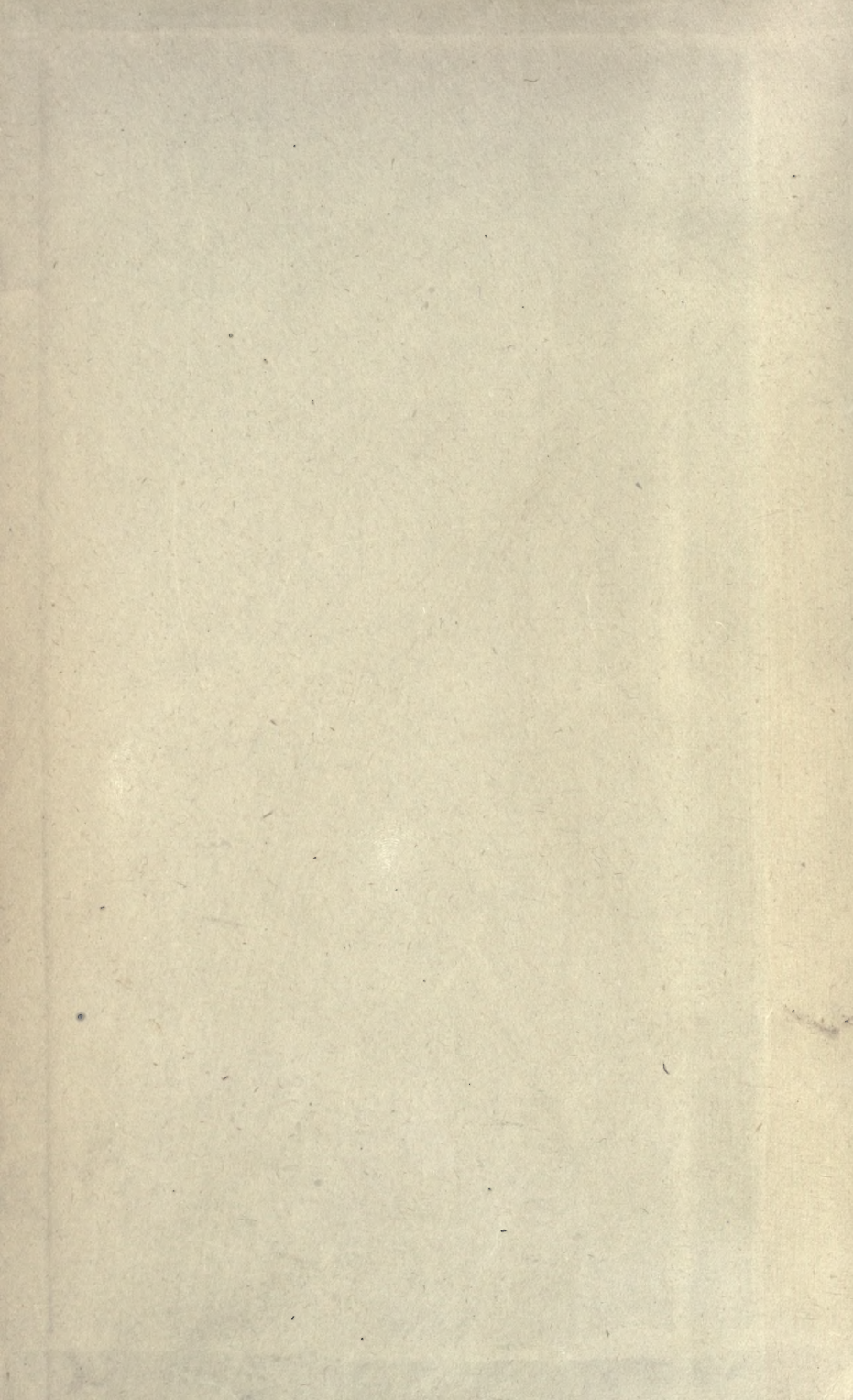


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The Highland Host of 1678

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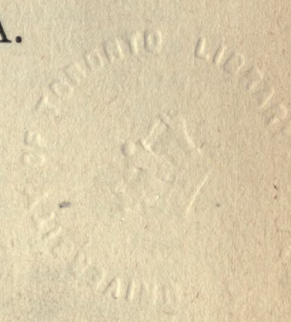
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The Highland Host of 1678

By
John Rawson Elder, M.A.



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PREFACE

No period of Scottish history stands out more clear than that which owes its character to the indomitable resolution of those men of the West Country who were determined that neither concession nor repression should turn them aside from their allegiance to Presbyterianism. The dramatic incidents in their long struggle with the forces of Episcopacy—Loudon Hill, the murder of Sharp, Drumclog, Bothwell Bridge—are confined to the period, 1669-1679, during which Lauderdale was at the head of the administration of the country. His rule was marked by a long series of measures of coercion adopted against the religious recusants of the West, but no incident in that history of maladministration produced such bitterness of feeling and stern determination to resist the government as the bringing down of the clans to live at free quarter upon the Covenanting malcontents.

The descent of the Highland Host marks the turning point in the struggle. Lauderdale had now asserted that the situation was one demanding armed intervention if uniformity of worship in Scotland were to be secured. This culminating act of oppression, on the other hand, so changed the temper of the Whigs that they determined no longer to resist merely passively. The real effect of the Highland Host, therefore, was to render subsequent events inevitable.

The materials for this account of the Host and its conduct in the West have been found in the University Library, Aberdeen; the Register House and Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; and the Record Office, London. I had com-

pleted my work upon the original manuscripts dealing with the Host in the Register House, before the publication of the volume of the Register of the Privy Council in which they are contained, but have given in reference to the various facts, the printed page of the Register, as being more accessible.

I take this opportunity of thanking all who have helped me, particularly Mr. P. J. Anderson and his assistants in the University Library, Aberdeen; Mr. W. V. Dickson, LL.D., of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; and the officials in the Register House and the Record Office. I would also acknowledge my indebtedness to those gentlemen who answered queries on my behalf sent them by the late Mr. F. MacPherson, Schoolmaster, Tarbolton, who proved an enthusiastic and willing worker.

To Professor Terry, Aberdeen University, my deepest thanks are due. It was he who, at the outset, suggested the subject to me as a suitable one for research. With rare generosity, he placed his great knowledge of authorities at my disposal and throughout helped me in every possible way.

Finally, I express my obligation to the Carnegie Trustees, whose generous grant has rendered possible the publication of this book.

JOHN R. ELDER.

ABERDEEN, *December*, 1913.

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CHAPTER I.

THE SITUATION.

CHARLES II. had, by 1677, ruled over Scotland for seventeen years, a period marked chiefly by attempts to establish himself as supreme in all matters both civil and ecclesiastical. By the aid of his Privy Council, now presided over by Lauderdale, he ruled Scotland as an absolute monarch who, nevertheless, had not yet learned the temper of his subjects, and was as far distant as his father had been from understanding the religious conscience of the Whigs of Western Scotland, who still, as in 1638, demanded the abolition of bishops and the establishment of a free General Assembly. To them Presbyterianism meant not only religious but also civic freedom, while Episcopacy still stood for bondage of conscience and constitutional slavery. The years of coercion and repression had served but to render them more determined to resist all interference with their Scottish Church, and less likely to be easily reconciled to rulers who had signally failed to gain their religious sympathies.

Lauderdale, the head of the King's Government in Scotland, was a fitting instrument for any measure of tyranny adopted against these unbending Presbyterians; shortsighted as his master, and as strong in his own conceit, he showed himself as little aware as Charles himself that all

government must depend ultimately upon the good-will of those governed. In his younger days, he had been looked upon with favour by the covenanter Baillie, who had commended him as "a youth that brings, by his noble carriage, credit to our nation, and help to our cause."¹ But thirty-five years had elapsed since these words were written, and this long period of evil living had sadly altered both outward appearance and moral character, rendering him one of the least likely of men to appeal to the stern, ascetic mind of the Covenanters. Abhorred as the author of these acts of oppression under which they groaned, he was incapable of arousing in those whose obedience he sought any feelings other than utter loathing and the deepest hatred.²

Lauderdale, since 1669, had striven, though with signal want of success, to coerce the malcontents. Letters of Indulgence, acts against conventicles, the declaring of all heritors and masters responsible for the conformity of their tenants and servants, Letters of Intercommuning—all these acts of repression had no more than inflamed the zeal of the people and confirmed them in their stand against the government.³ The situation had become serious, and now conventicles were not only religious meetings but assemblings of armed men. Lauderdale knew that to the Whig religious liberty and political freedom were synonymous, and determined at all risks to avert the fear of another rising. In 1677, therefore, he issued the Bond, which made heritors and masters responsible for the loyal behaviour of all resident on their lands, and, to enforce this act, took that

¹ Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, edited by Laing, vol. ii. p. 107.

² Sir George Mackenzie, *Memoirs*, pp. 157, 158.

³ Measures Taken by Privy Council against Religious Recusants, *Register, Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. iv. (Third Series) pp. xv, xvi, xvii; vol. v. (Third Series) pp. ix-xii.

step which all are agreed in regarding as the chief blot on his career in Scotland. To ensure the acceptance of the Bond and the crushing out of any armed resistance, he brought into the disaffected districts, to live at free quarters, a military force composed of highlanders, regulars and militia, the body of licensed marauders handed down to execration in the West as "The Highland Host."

The situation in the South-west of Scotland was indeed grave. There was no need to exaggerate the determination of the populace to withstand all the demands of armed Episcopacy.⁴ Since, however, the whole situation was the result of the severe policy of coercion already adopted, it seemed to many that the use of measures more drastic still must inevitably be the occasion of that rebellion the outbreak of which was so much dreaded. There were not wanting those, indeed, who affirmed that the object of the government was to bring the threatened insurrection to a head, so that there might be a pretext for the maintenance of a standing army in England.⁵ Charles, anxious to secure the succession of his brother to the throne, knew that the presence of an army in his kingdom was of importance in securing the subservience of the people. An army of 200,000 men had recently been raised in the short space of six weeks, under pretext that the King was at last to yield to the wishes of his subjects and declare war on France. Many in England, however, were persuaded that this army was intended for service not abroad but at home, and that the Duke of York sought to place himself at the head of

⁴ King Hewison, *The Covenanters*, vol. ii. pp. 262, 263, 264, 265.

⁵ Burnet, *History of His Own Times*, p. 277: "These things seemed done on design to force a rebellion: which they thought would be soon quashed and would give a good colour for keeping up an army." Wodrow, *Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 372 n. *Memoirs of Rev. John Blackadder*, p. 231: "The policy of Lauderdale and his friends was to incite a revolt."

the army in order to secure his brother's absolute rule and his own succession to the throne.⁶ Barillon, writing to Louis XIV. on April 18th, 1678, says: "Mr. le duc d'York se croit perdu pour la religion si l'occasion présente ne lui fert a soumettre l'Angleterre."⁷

The Duke himself was seizing eagerly on the pretext of the alliance with Holland to raise an army, although he was evidently not at all certain of the manner in which the House of Commons would receive these preparations. In January, 1678, he writes to the Prince of Orange: "We must prepare for war, which we are doing here, with as little noise as we can, till the Parliament meets!"⁸ When Parliament did meet, it acted as York had secretly feared, and proved in no mood to further his projects for the army. On February 2nd, 1678, York again writes: "Now that his Majesty has done all they desired by their former address, they chicane and fly off from what they have formerly said; attack the prerogative and would impose upon his Majesty such things as cannot subsist with monarchy, and was never before pretended to by a house of commons."⁹ Again, on February 5th, 1678, he writes to the Prince of Orange: "Those who seemed to be most zealous for a war with France last session, are those who obstruct most the giving of a supply."¹⁰ The House proved more and more obstinate, as the Duke still demanded supplies of men and money, some of the Commoners evidently making no secret of the fact that they feared the purpose which the army might ultimately serve. Thus on March 19th, 1678, the Duke writes: "Truly the temper of the House seems not

⁶ Laing, *History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 88.

⁷ Extract from letter written by Barillon to Louis XIV., dated April 18th, 1678, quoted in Sir John Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 142-3.

⁸ Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 145.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

to be good, and looks as if some of them minded more how to get the power from the King than anything else," and again, on March 22nd, "They have such groundless jealousies in their heads that they make no advances in the providing the rest of the money." He makes the position still more clear when he writes on April 10th, 1678: "It is of the last importance to us (that the war should proceed) and I do not know what may happen if the war does not go on, considering the temper of the nation and the ill condition his majesty's affairs must be in for want of money."¹ Since at this very time, Louis and Charles had already begun to make arrangements of a secret nature with each other—Barillon asserts the understanding to have dated from May, 1678—it is evident that the Duke of York, who must have known of these negotiations, was merely seizing on the opportunity to raise an army which might secure his own succession. It is also clear that the news of a revolt in Scotland would have proved at any rate not unwelcome. The coincidence of events is too clear to admit of any other conclusion than that Lauderdale, if not actively engaged in inciting a rebellion, was fully aware that to report a need for troops within his province, would not bring him into disfavour with his master. This is also the view of Wodrow.²

¹ Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 145.

² "I am told by a person I can entirely credit, who was at London at this time, that he heard from good hands, that the king was now very much pushed by the Whigs, and the affectors of liberty in this time of peace, to retrench the charges the kingdom of England was at in maintaining an army, and wanted a plausible handle for keeping it up; and that it was concerted in the cabinet council, that all measures should be taken to exasperate the Scots fanatics, as they were called, to some broil or other that there might be a pretence to keep up the standing forces; and that the Duke of Lauderdale was writ to, and acquainted with the design; and when he came up to court, towards the end of October, the project of gratifying the prelates in violent measures, and of bringing down the Highlanders, was brought to a hearing" (Wodrow, *Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 372).

Whether, however, the government was acting of set purpose or not, whether a rising was really desired or not, it is at any rate plain that there was necessity for vigorous action on the part of the ruling powers. Violent repression of the people had resulted in violent acts of reprisal on their part, and prompt action was necessary if those of the clergy who had conformed were to be protected from the exasperated populace. The West was not in the peaceful state that many covenanting writers have represented. In the western shires conventicles were frequent. Burnet states that there was generally present at the conventicles a body of "armed and desperate men," who took all military precautions to protect the more peaceable portion of the assemblage against surprise.³ Both Blackadder and Kirkton admit that people went to and from worship well armed and sometimes protected by squadrons of horse, and that the conventicles were not only becoming larger and being held more frequently but that they had grown much more warlike in their general aspect. So desperate, indeed, had the situation become that by November, 1677, it was plainly stated in a letter to Lord Rothes from the Commissioners charged with putting down conventicles in Ayrshire and Renfrewshire that "it was not in their power to quyet these disorders."⁴ Concerning even the City of Glasgow, the Privy Council, in a letter addressed to the magistrates, dated May, 1677, complained that, in spite of all laws and acts of Parliament, great numbers of citizens were in the habit of deserting the public worship within the city for the purpose of attending conventicles.⁵ Lauderdale himself, writing in September, 1678, to the Earl of Danby,

³ Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, p. 277.

⁴ *Register of Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 280.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 158.

says that he fears trouble from no part of Scotland except the West, although even there he fears little so long as the people find no leaders among the gentry and nobility. His preparations were already being made, however, for any possible emergency, and he had asked that the English troops in Ireland might be massed in the northern part of the island, ready, should occasion arise, for an immediate descent upon the Scottish coast.⁶

It was not long before Lauderdale's opinion as to the critical state of affairs in the West received ample confirmation. Lord Dundonald, in the course of a visit to the disaffected districts, found that conventicles were held very frequently, especially in the district of Carrick, that meeting-houses were being built, and that an armed attack had been made upon the manse of Tarbolton, the minister escaping only on account of a fortunate absence from home. These things Dundonald felt it his duty to report.⁷

⁶ The Earl of Lauderdale to the Earl of Danby, Lord High Treasurer :
4th September, 1677.

Blessing God that the country is very quiet, the writer says: "We are well rid of the feild conventicles except the disaffected West countrey wch hath been quiet a great while. But of late that villain Welsh with his associats the feild preachers have kept a great bussel. They have kept scandalous feild conventicles of multitudes in these parts. They preach and write to open rebellion, but I doe not feare rebellion seing no gentleman comes near them; yet we will heir make ourselves ready because they are a set of fanatick enthusiastick fooles, and no more guided by rules of reason than Fifthe Monarchie Men. And therefore I have desired the King to send present orders into Ireland that such a partie of the army in that Kingdome may march into the North of Ireland under the comand of my Lord Granard as was formerly to be ready, if there be occasion."

Historical MSS. Commission, Report IX., Appendix x. p. 452.

⁷ Lord Dundonald to the Earl of Lauderdale.

May it please your Grace,

I had occasion at my coming west to come heer to the shyre of Ayre ffor doing of some of my affaires. At my being heer, I fand such insolent abuses comitted That I thought it my duety to give your Gr. an accompt theirof, ffor not onely are the conventicles very frequent especially in Carrick where they are kept in every parosh allmost every week. And

The hysterical state into which those at the head of affairs were thrown by such reports as these, received an added stimulus from the exaggerated rumours of disturbance which were common at the time. The Duke of Hamilton, writing on October 6th, 1677, to the Duke of Queensberry, disposed of one such characteristic report by telling him that the current story of an armed encounter between some of the King's troops and a number of countrymen who had been surprised at a conventicle, had its origin in a brawl involving only three soldiers who had become separated from their comrades and had behaved very rudely towards some of the civil population, whereupon the countrymen had set upon them, beaten them and disarmed them.⁸ The greater part of the tales of the wild doings of the Whigs had as little foundation in fact as the one thus exploded.

The Earl of Nithsdale did a great deal to spread such reports in Edinburgh, where his inventions created something almost amounting to a panic.⁹ Ably assisted by the have deserted their oune paroshes which they frequented formerly, Bot they also take up the churches that are planted and preaches in y^m as they did in Tarbolltounne on Sabath wes a sevensny^t, & its probable will doe the lyke in other places. I ame certainly informed yesterny^t That Mr. Welsh hes intimat a cōmunion to be cellebrat at Garven w^t in Carrick on Sunday next, And a house building on purpose for y^t effect, And their is a contribution gathering in Mayboil to build ane other house their; I gote also advertisement yesternight that seven or eight armed men brake in at a window of the Min^rs house of Tarbolltounne and searched all the house for the Min^r, who wes that night abroad, and they commanded his servantes to tell him that if ever he preached their againe he should die the next day. If thir abuses be not tymeously prevented it may come to a greater hight which I wish may be speediely thought upon. These are from

Your Gr. most humble servant,

DUNDONALD.

Auchants, 14th Octo^r, 77.

Lauderdale Papers, edited Airy, vol. iii. p. 88.

⁸ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XV.*, Appendix viii. p. 226.

⁹ "I hope," writes Hamilton concerning him, "that he is as great a lyer as a fool, for I hear nothing in this cōuntry tending to such disorders." *Ibid.* p. 229.

bishops, the Earl reported, with much wealth of circumstantial detail, that the conventicles were armed camps, and that the Whigs were well equipped with weapons of every kind and mounted on horses brought over from Ireland for their use, the result being that the government immediately set on foot preparations for the conflict that seemed so imminent.¹⁰

Lauderdale's constant complaint with regard to the conventicles thus wildly reported, was that the ministers who officiated at them were not only spiritual guides but political incendiaries, inciting their flock to rebellion by vehement denunciation of the King and his representatives in Scotland. That his fears with regard to the eloquence of these preachers were not unfounded is evident from the following account of a conventicle, sent by Lauderdale himself to Viscount Granard, then in command of the English troops massed on the north east coast of Ireland. The letter accompanying the report of the meeting is dated November 26th, 1677, and is sent by the hand of Mr. Patrick Menzies, Secretary to Lauderdale.¹

¹⁰ The following is quoted by the Duke of Hamilton to Queensberry as part of a letter sent him by L.G., "a friend that lives near Stirling": "Ther wes a great allarom att Edinburgh that the West was aboutt rysing in arms. The bishops bleu the coill, and Earl Nithsdale wes cheaff informer, for he sed ther wer conventickels kept consisting off over 3000, wheroff 1000 als weall mounted and armd as any in the nation to his certen knowledg. Some others told that some gentlemens houses were provyded with arms far abov the condition of pryvett families; that in some wer 20 pair off pistols, 20 carbyns, besyd mussquetts and fyerlocks. Bott the principall poynt wes moir considerable, which is, that within this year or thereby 7000 horses ar transported from Ireland; hitherto non can geit account of them bott that they ar in the hands off disaffected persons in the western and suthern shyr."'

Historical MSS Commission, Report XV., Appendix viii. p. 230.

¹ *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde (New Series), vol. iv. p. 69.*

"1677, November 5. Carrick.—Sunday was sennight, Mr. Welsh kept a most numerous conventicle in and about their new built meeting-house in the parish of Girvan, where were present Mr. Dick Cunningham, Gilchryst, Gilbert and Robert Kennedy, preachers, and about 7000 people, and the communion was celebrated, and upwards of 2000 persons received it; who, before communicating, were all engaged solemnly never to hear the orthodox ministers more, and to adhere to and pursue the glorious ends of the Solemn League and Covenant. Mr. Welsh preached on John 11., 34, 35, and amongst other seditious doctrines he said: "The Kings, nobles and prelates are the murderers of Christ," and then, sitting down in his chair, said: "Oh! people, I will be silent—speak, oh people, and tell me what good hath this King done since his home-coming—yea, hath he not done all the mischief that a tyrant could do both by his life and laws," and told the people that the present solemnity was appointed to restore Mr. Gilbert Kennedy, the Nonconformist, to his cure at Girvan, and that this was more Christ-like than an erastian indulgence. Monday after they kept a Presbytery, and chose Welsh moderator, and having published and received the penitence of one Mr. Cunningham (who had received ordination from the late Bishop of Galloway), for ever disowning episcopacy, they appointed him to be ordained by new imposition of hands. They proceeded to make acts, such as 1°, the people should not rise in arms till provoked thereunto, and that thereupon the sign should be given them to make ready: 2°, that people should be dissuaded to hear the orderly ministers any more, but they are not to hurt their persons or break their houses till they should be found acting against the cause of God by complaining to authorities, and that those are to be fallen upon. This they

warranted from the commission the Israelites had to destroy the Canaanites." ²

Since these were the reports that Lauderdale received and presumably believed, it is little matter for wonder that he should write that the conventicles were "of a sudden both more numerous and insolent than formerly" and that he felt himself justified in suspecting those who attended them to "intend somewhat more than bare preaching and praying." ³ He had also good reason to believe the Whigs to be well able to resort to the arbitrament of arms should they resolve to do so. He had received information that at a fair held at Maybole a great many swords had been

² A somewhat fuller account of the same gathering is to be found in *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 397, No. 146. The paper is headed "An account of the present posture of affairs in the shires of Ayr and Renfrew." It amplifies the account of the gathering thus: "The communion was celebrated with silver cups, and at least 2000 people received. They distributed tickets to the people by some chosen to be elders. Many scandalous persons were admitted, such as William Kelso in Ayr, who since rides well armed in Welch's life guard. . . . The people's promise was taken before their admission to the Sacrament, never to hear curates again, but they should ever adhere to their League and Covenant.

"On Monday they kept a Presbytery, when Welch was Moderator, and there were many lay Elders. Welch was appointed to dispose of the money collected, at his pleasure. Gilbert Kennedy was removed and censured for not preaching warmly enough against the wicked ways of the nobles, the prelates, and their adherents. After this Mr. Cunningham made his repentance for having owned and served under episcopacy, and got the right hand of fellowship and is to receive new ordination. It was also enacted that people should not rise in arms till they should be some way oppressed and provoked, and that then the signs should be given them to make ready, that all the world might see they would not invade the rights of the worst pretenders without just cause and that the Elders and others favouring the Cause should dissuade the people from hearing the curates, but not to hurt them or break their houses, till they be found acting against the Cause of God by complaining to the great ones, and those who did so should be fallen upon. And this they warranted from the Israelites their destroying such of the Canaanites, as would not take peace when offered. Hereupon the breaking of Mr. Naismyth's house was commended, saying he was an incendiary."

³ *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde (New Series)*, vol. iv. p. 61.

sold to the country people.⁴ A report from another source had given him reason to believe that arms had been brought from Holland and were concealed in Glasgow and Edinburgh in the houses and shops of those favourable to the cause. Neither was money reported to be wanting among the Whigs, the information being that their sympathisers in London had already sent some two thousand pounds in view of a possible rising.⁵ Most of the gentry in the east and west of Scotland, but especially those of Clydesdale and Galloway, were said to be in favour of such a rising, and common report pointed to the Duke of Hamilton as the leader already chosen for this imminent rebellion.⁶ The story went that the men of the conventicles had approached the Duke's factor, who was known to be in sympathy with them, but that the Duke, when sounded by him on the matter, had declined to give any decisive answer, contenting himself with granting them liberty to hold conventicles in the lands under his jurisdiction, and with a general recommendation to "secrecy and prudence."⁷

From all the evidence, therefore, it is clear that Lauderdale had abundant reason to believe that the West was not in such a peaceful condition as was maintained by Hamilton and his supporters in their report afterwards made to the King on "some particular matters of fact relating to the administration of affairs in Scotland under the Duke of Lauderdale."⁸

⁴ *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 397, No. 146.

⁵ *S.P. Ireland Car. II.*, vol. 338, No. 131.

⁶ "They will now fall upon a way who shall patronize them in this, and lead when the people are readie; they all agree generally upon my Lord Duke Hamilton as the fittest persone, for severall reasones alleadged by them." *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix vi. p. 157.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid. Report XI.*, Appendix iv. p. 30 (quoted in Appendix).

Hamilton himself, although anxious to clear his people from any charge of making preparations for armed rebellion, was in honesty compelled to acknowledge to his private friends that, in his opinion, peace would be maintained only so long as no attempt was made by the Government to enforce obedience, and that the men of the West would never conform unless compelled by force of arms.⁹ Since Lauderdale and his government had determined to go forward with the religious policy already adopted, and were resolved upon the submission of the Whigs, it was evident that the time for recourse to measures of force was near. Already, on 5th October, 1677, the Privy Council, in a Report signed by Lauderdale himself as President, had definitely set forth their position with regard to conventicles.¹⁰ The Council now proceeded to the more active step of asking the Commissioners of Militia and some other gentlemen of the shires of Ayr and Renfrew to meet to deliberate how an end might be put to the seditious courses of the people of these two shires, saying that this request was made in view of "there having bene frequent informationes sent in heir of the extraordinary insolencies committed not onlie against the present orthodox clergy by usurping their pulpitts, threattning and abusing their personnes, setting up of conventickling houses and keeping of scandalous and seditious feild conventicles, bot lykwayes of the great prejudice that is lyk to aryse to his Majesties

⁹ "That itt will be possible to reclame the people from conventickls or gett them to take this bond I much doubt of itt. Lett us all do what wee can, so what may be the isheiw if other measurs be not taken that ar not yett tryed, God he knowes." Letter from Hamilton to Queensberry, 30th August, 1677. *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XV.*, Appendix viii. p. 223.

¹⁰ "Report of the humble opinion of the Committee for publick affairs, concerning the way of prosecuting his Majesties laws against such as disturb the government of the Church." *Ibid. Report XI.*, Appendix vi. p. 156.

authoritie and government and to the peace of the kingdome in general.”¹

Lauderdale had already faced the questions of the best means of dealing with those who refused to conform and of suppressing a possible rising. He knew the indomitable spirit of those with whom he had to deal; he was well aware that the militia could not be trusted,² since it consisted chiefly of “commons much inclined to that opinion”;³ the regular forces in Scotland were a mere handful, consisting as they did of a troop of Life Guards under the command of the Marquis of Atholl, numbering 160 private gentlemen with their officers, and the regiment of Foot Guards made up of ten companies of 100 men each, the whole regiment with officers, non-commissioned officers and men numbering 1100 men.⁴ Sir George Mackenzie, in his *Memoirs*, gives the official view of the strength of the malcontents, estimating their force, although probably with some exaggeration, as easily amounting to ten thousand men.⁵ In spite of such exaggeration, however, on the part of those who wished to emphasise the serious nature of the situation, the forces of the Covenanters, who were shown by the subse-

¹ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix vi. p. 156.

² “There is not a regiment in all the militia of Scotland that his Majesty’s commissioner puts trust in and that is his incomparable prudence, for to tell the truth his grace hath no reason,” writes Mr. Matthew Mackail to Sir John Frederick, Member of the House of Commons. *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 404, No. 194.

³ Sir George Mackenzie, *Memoirs*, p. 239.

⁴ *A Military History of Perthshire*, edited by the Marchioness of Tullibardine, vol. i. p. 115. “As (owing to condition of public revenue) wee doe now entertaine but one Regiment of our Foote Guard, so we will only keep up one Troope of Horse for our Horse Guard.” 7th February, 1676.

Warrant Book, Scotland, Car. II., vol. iii. pp. 356 and 357.

⁵ “It was most easy for two or three conventicles by joining together, to make an army of ten thousand men, to whom all of that persuasion would probably gather.” Sir George Mackenzie, *Memoirs*, p. 239.

quent operations of the Host itself to be well armed and prepared for war, were certainly more than adequate to meet the regular forces of the Crown in Scotland. Lauderdale, seeing the crisis to be at hand, had, on 27th October, 1677, authorised Sir George Munro, Major-General of the forces in Scotland,⁶ to act as commander-in-chief of any troops brought together "for opposing any Rebellion or Insurrection there, if any shall happen to be."⁷ Should such a general rising ensue, however, it was evident that the small body of Regular troops in Scotland must be supplemented by irregular forces. The danger was increasingly imminent. It was plain that the West would yield only to coercion; both landowners and tenants in the shires were inclined to the covenanting party, and had, with few exceptions, refused to sign the Bond abjuring their non-conforming ways. Lauderdale, to whom nonconformity in religion meant disloyalty to the Crown and rebellion against all settled government, had determined that they must yield. To enforce his will, troops were necessary. The depleted state of the public treasury made it undesirable that these troops should come from without the borders of Scotland. In these circumstances, Lauderdale bethought him of the military forces of the clans, a source of warlike strength which many succeeding statesmen were to exploit.

⁶ *Warrant Book, Scotland, Car. II.*, vol. iii., No. 35.

⁷ *Ibid.* vol. iv., No. 261.

CHAPTER II.

THE CALLING OUT OF THE HOST.

LAUDERDALE'S plan of having recourse to the feudal resources of the Highlands was not hastily conceived. That he intended to do so had been for some time general knowledge among those who were in attendance upon him ¹ and an evil shrewdly suspected and greatly feared by many of the principal men in the West country. Of these none had more reason to fear the threatened descent of the clans

¹ Dr. George Hickes, afterwards Dean of Worcester, who acted as chaplain to Lauderdale during part of his stay in Scotland, writes as early as October 23rd, 1677: "I suppose you know that the country where these people most abound is in the West, about Glasgow, Ayr, etc., and upon their first motion several thousand Highlanders will be brought down upon them to cut them off and quarter in their county. The Castle at Stirling is also reinforced, and upon notice of their first stirring, proclamation will be issued out to warn all heritors that hold lands of the Crown, as the greatest part of the nation doth, to repair to the King's host at Edinburgh upon pain of high treason, so that if they rise as they did nine years since, they will be otherwise dealt with than they were then, for they will neither find mercy in the field nor afterwards, if they be taken, at the bar." The whole trouble he ascribed to those who were seeking to discredit Lauderdale's government. "My Lord's enemies know that there is nothing recommends him more to the King, than the confidence he hath in his great wisdom to govern the kingdom and keep it in peace, and that's the reason they take this way to embroil the kingdom and bring all, if they could, to confusion, that his Majesty might have recourse to them, as abler physicians of state. I need not tell you who they are, for you cannot but have heard of the Earl of Tweeddale, the Duke of Hamilton and one more, who because he is a privy councillor, I shall not mention his name." *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XIII., Appendix ii. p. 37.*

than the Duke of Hamilton, who, as a great landowner, must suffer severely should Highlanders be quartered on his estates, and who, already labouring under the suspicion of the authorities, could hope for little protection from them either for himself or for his tenantry. In a letter to Queensberry, dated 27th October, 1677, he shows that those belonging to his party were already well acquainted with the intentions of the government, and that the ominous signs of military preparations were being observed with the keenest anxiety by all classes in the West. He writes: "The horse and foot are all marched from Glasgow yesterday towards Stirling, to the great surprise of the Archbishop, as he pretends, and there is no small fear among the people for having Highlanders coming down amongst them." He himself shared the view of his party that there was deliberate intent on the part of Lauderdale to provoke rebellion. "For my part," he writes, "I think it a device to engage the people to disorders, but I hope they will be wiser."²

To this same letter he adds a copy of a letter received from L. G., "a friend that lives near Stirling," to show his knowledge of the extent of the preparations already made.

"The Councill resolit that the 3 cassels bee weel looked too and provyded off all neceisours for their seceurety, that all Guards, hors and foott bee sett att Sterling, that 2000 arms, 9 piece of canon for the field and plenty off amonition bee careid from Edinburgh to Stirling cassel. The Dutch pyeneir was ordorit to attend E. Mar, and appoynt what wes needful for the forther strenthening that place. All that accordingly wes doon, and the wholl nobility who hav any interest in the Hylands, as Huntly, Atholl, Argyll,

² *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XV., Appendix viii. p. 229.*

Marshall, Moray, Mar, Kintoir, Caithness, etc., are ordered instantly to hav all the Hylanders in reddines upon a call to march to Stirling, wher they shall receiv arms and amunition for all that went, and itt appears ther ar non invyted hether, militia or Lolanders, bott Hylanders only, McDonalds, McCleans, McGregors, McEntoshes, McClouds, McForbesses, McCouls, etc., the rest of that sort. Earl Pearth gaitt a pertecouler letter from the Council to have his Hyland men in reddiness, the postcrip wes with Duke Lauderdale's' oun hand, that his men shood bee furnisht att Stirling. This day Earl Moray rendevous his att Doun. Atholl, Marshall, Mar, and all the rest hasted north for the same countrie. Itt wes talkt in plain tearms, that iff the Hyland men wer forst to march to the west to suppress a rebelleion of the Uigs, they should not only have frie quarter bott liberty of plundering, and iff they pleased to settell themselves ther as a new plantation and possess the countrey for a reward. The Council hav also ordeind that in caice there bee one suspection, then a proclamation shall bee published requyr all fensible men off whatsomever qualety in ther best appoyntment to repeer to Stirling within a certan tym under pain off forfeiting off lyf and fourtoun."³

By the end of October, 1677, therefore, Lauderdale had so ordered matters that a strong force was ready if there should arise occasion for its use, the general feeling among the presbyterian faction being that the first suggestion as to the raising of this force had come from the bishops, whose subsequent conduct, indeed, did much to confirm the idea.⁴ In the beginning of November, Lauderdale acquainted the Earl of Danby with the measures already

³ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XV.*, Appendix viii. p. 230.

⁴ *Lauderdale Papers*, edited by Airy, vol. iii. p. 95.

taken, in order that he might inform the King. After speaking of the orders given "for making ready a good bodie of Highlanders and others (if the phanaticks in the west should rise in armes"), he says that the gentlemen of the disaffected shires, to whom he has already written "to try their puls and render them inexcusable," "pretend they cannot suppress these disorders, that is to say, they will doe nothing towards it." In point of fact, however, as Lauderdale well knew, these gentlemen, whether in sympathy with the Covenanters or not, were as powerless to prevent conventicles as he himself. "In short," as Wodrow puts the matter, "the thing sought of the gentlemen was not really in their power, to suppress and bear down conventicles; for, though they had inclined to do so, as I hope the most of them did not, and durst not hinder the pure preaching of the gospel; yet their tenants and the body of the people, excepting the parishes of the indulged, were the persons who heard the gospel preached, and would not, without a superior force, be restrained from so doing." ⁵

From the noblemen already written to with reference to the assembling of the Highlanders, Lauderdale had had no reply except from the Marquis of Atholl and the Earl of Moray "who assure us they have made ready fourteen hundred men whenever they shall be called for." Then he adds significantly: "In the meantime they doe not rise in armes in the west. How soone they may take armes no man can tell; for as I have often said, they are perfetely fifth monarchye men, and no judgment can be made upon the grounds of reason what they may attempt; and therefor all preparations possible are to be made in case they rise, for this game is not to be played by halfes, we must take

⁵ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 374.

this opportunity to crush them, so as they may not trouble us any more in hast, or else we are to expect to be thus threatened by them next year." ⁶

Determined to risk nothing, Lauderdale had already prepared a reserve for his force of invading Highlanders and had asked that the English troops in Ireland under Lord Granard should be concentrated on the north-east coast of the island; he now asked that instructions be given Lord Granard to "come over into Scotland upon the first call from the King's Privie Councell in Scotland, and that he may immediately send over to me one whom he trusts, that I may know his condition and his readiness, and that we agree the time and manner of his transportation before we call him." ⁷ To this Danby replied on the 15th November, that the King, immediately upon receiving Lauderdale's communication, called together a Committee of Foreign Affairs to consider it, and that as a result of this meeting Lord Granard had been ordered to co-operate in every way possible in "the suppressing of any rising in Scotland."

The reply to his letter also gave Lauderdale the assurance of Charles' entire sympathy with him in all his actions. The king, he is told, "does extreamely approve the course you have taken of haveing some of the noblemen and their dependencies in a readiness upon occasion, and is as sensible as y^r Grace could wish of the backwardness of some others of them who make excuses instead of doinge their duties." To ensure the success of the plans already made, orders had also been given for troops to be massed on the English border in readiness for any emergency in Scotland. "The King," Lauderdale was told, "has also commanded

⁶ *Lauderdale Papers*, edited by Airy, vol. iii. p. 89.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 90.

a letter to bee writt to the Duke of Newcastle to order a thousand of the militia of Northumberland to bee in readiness to give you assistance if there should bee need, and has ordered my L^d Frescheville's troop and S^r F^r Compton's to march to Alnewick and to quarter there for some time. . . . His Matie has also directed that all these, viz. from Ireland, the 2 troops of my L^d Oxford's Regiment, and hee who must command the 1000 men of the Northumberland militia, do all receive and obey such orders as they shall receive from the councill of Scotland."⁸

In accordance with these instructions, the arrangements for the transportation to Scotland of the forces massed on the coast of Ulster, should these be required by the Privy Council, were hurried on as much as possible, although those in authority in Ireland were strongly of opinion that a large force must be retained in the north of that island to keep down disaffection there. Large numbers of Scottish refugees harassed by the stringent action of the Privy Council had sought refuge among the Presbyterian population of the north of Ireland,⁹ and it was feared that the influence of these immigrants might induce the Ulstermen to rise in sympathy with their co-religionists of Ayrshire.

Thus, throughout these months of military preparations, the authorities in Ireland watched with anxiety the gathering of the warclouds in Scotland, since, as Sir George Rawdon writes to Viscount Conway, the effect of a rising

⁸ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 91.

⁹ On September 22nd, 1677, Sir George Rawdon writes from Ireland to Viscount Conway: "The L^d Comiss^r in Scotd. is very severe in comiting to prison all conventiclors, till they pay their great fynes and Horning such as abscond. Some of them take sanctuary in this Kingdome. I write to Lord Granard what I heare still and have some apprehensions off trouble beginning there and that our neighbrs here will dance at their pipe. *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 338, No. 99.

in Scotland would be that "our condition here will be troublesome, and this countryes' dance will be after their pype, though my Lord Granard doth hope his influence upon the ministers to be very much to prevent it."¹⁰

On November 17th, 1677, Sir Henry Coventry had written to Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, asking him to give orders to Lord Granard, commanding the troops in Ireland, to have men, horses, ammunition, and all things necessary for a field force in readiness to be instantly set aboard transports which were to lie in waiting for them till such time as the Council of Scotland should send the summons. Lauderdale likewise had been requested to send an officer to Ireland to inform Lord Granard upon such matters as the most suitable landing-places on the Scotch coast, the amount of supplies available there, and other necessary points of military detail.¹

Viscount Granard, replying to this letter on November 18th, writes that from all he can gather there is every likelihood of the Irish troops being employed in Scotland. "The generality of the Commons there," he writes, "seem, by what I know, to be in a bad humour. I pray God they may not be influenced by the greater sort of people, which, if they be not, they will signify little." He adds in a postscript that he knows of the proposal to raise the clans. "There is two regiments of Highlanders raising. The companies which quartered in Glasgow are removed to Stirling."²

On November 19th, Sir Henry Coventry wrote to Lauderdale to tell him of the King's exertions on his behalf and

¹⁰ *S.P. Ireland Car. II.*, vol. 338, No. 132.

¹ *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde (New Series)*, vol. iv. p. 61.

² *Ibid.*

of his concern that the disaffected West should be promptly and firmly dealt with. "His Majesty hath not been a little concerned in the account your Grace lately gave him, and what is since brought to him from several other hands, concerning the number and insolency of the Conventicles with you. He has therefore sent this express to let you know how far he has provided for your assistance, if there be need, as likewise to receive by the return in what posture you are there, and if in a condition of force in Scotland, not only to dissipate them, but to seize some of the principal ministers and laymen, and bring them to condign punishment (which His Majesty conceiveth very necessary to be done): that the Council then immediately give order to act against them, but if you doubt of the force of these troops you have to employ against them, that then you temporise till the succours prepared by His Majesty may come to you. What readiness they are in in Ireland I shall acquaint you by sending your Grace a duplicate of what I wrote by His Majesty's command to my Lord of Ormond, as likewise the extract of part of a letter of his Grace to me concerning a landing place, magazines on your side, and erecting a post to entertain a constant correspondence with Ireland. His Majesty would that your Grace having considered of the whole of the letters and queries, should despatch some understanding officer to my Lord of Granard, by whom you may likewise send the inclosed to the Duke of Ormond for more security, though I have sent from hence, but because the winds sometime remain contrary for several weeks, His Majesty hath commanded a duplicate to be sent by way of Scotland. This officer may adjust all matters with my Lord Granard concerning his queries, and inform your Grace in what readiness he findeth them for their transportation. There are in Ireland already

at three several rendezvous in the North, 1800 foot and 300 horse in six troops regimented; besides those His Majesty has given orders for two troops of horse to march to Alnwick and quarter there. And if your Grace think there will be need of them, upon notice from you they shall have order to recruit to 100 men each troop. The same order of recruiting shall be likewise given to the King's two garrisons in the north, as soon as you have declared your opinion of the need like to be of them. And of these garrisons His Majesty will draw 1200 foot for your assistance—all old troops—and garrison his towns with others; your Grace seeth how much his Majesty concerneth himself in these affairs. I beg a speedy return of this express, that His Majesty, being fully informed of the measures you intend to take there, may the better judge how to take his here." ³

On November 25th, Viscount Granard again wrote from Belfast to Ormond to acquaint him with his preparations for the impending expedition to Scotland. Not finding sufficient transports, he had taken the precaution to order the captain of a man-of-war stationed there to stop all ships outward bound till further orders. He had bespoken ten thousand weight of biscuit and had issued orders that every man should have by him in his quarters six days' provisions ready in case of a march. Unfortunately, however, he found himself absolutely devoid of ammunition waggons and had neither horses to draw the nine field guns lying at Carrickfergus nor gunners to man them. He also desired about 100 men to make up his Infantry to field strength. ⁴

³ *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde (New Series)*, vol. iv. p. 63.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 68.

It was naturally with feelings of no small satisfaction that Lauderdale saw this field force being organised in Ireland to supplement his efforts in Scotland. On November 25th, 1677, he wrote to Ormond to thank him for all his diligence. "I find with much satisfaction," he says, "that you are so near us with so good a party under your command." He adds significantly: "I must say there is yet no rising in Scotland, nor do I think they dare rise in haste. Yet we must lie at their mercy no more to be alarmed by them; but we shall make ourselves ready for them with all speed and give your Lordship timely notice. The King has appointed a post to be settled betwixt this and you, which I shall quicken all I can. And I do not intend to leave this kingdom till it be settled, which I trust in God shall be this winter."⁵

On December 1st Lauderdale again wrote to Viscount Granard to tell him that he was sending to him James Maitland, "one of the lieutenants of the regiment of Guards here"—his own cousin. Maitland was entrusted with a document signed by the Duke of Lauderdale headed "Instructions concerning Disorders in the Western Shires of Scotland," which shows clearly the exact position of military affairs in Scotland. At the same time the Act of Council for establishing the post between Ireland and Scotland, so much desired by Lauderdale in view of the present crisis, was sent to Ormond, although he was informed that it would be the middle of January, 1678, before the post could be used and that meanwhile they must continue to communicate by means of expresses. The fact of the establishment of the post is also mentioned in the "Instructions," since Lauderdale evidently considered that

⁵ *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde* (New Series), vol. iv. pp. 68-69.

a quick means of communication between those in command in Ireland and himself was absolutely essential.⁶

Maitland's instructions were as follows :

" 1. In obedience to His Majesty's commands, signified to the Duke of Lauderdale, you shall go to Belfast or to any other place within the Kingdom of Ireland where you can find the Viscount of Granard. You shall acquaint his Lordship that the great disorders in the western shires continued now divers months by numerous field conventicles, building of preaching houses in commons, solemn communions given at those meetings, unlawful oaths imposed upon the people, seditious doctrine preached, inciting

⁶ *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde (New Series), vol. iv. pp. 71-75.*

Warrant for the Establishment of a Horse Post between Edinburgh and Portpatrick.*

" 1677, November 27.—John Graham, Postmaster General of Scotland is to settle Postmaster at :

Linethgow	1st	} Stage from Edinburgh.
Killsyth	2nd	
Glasgow	3rd	
Stewarton	4th	
or Kilmarnock		
Ayr	5th	
Drumbeg	6th	
Ballintrae	7th	
Portpatrick	8th	

Letters to be received and despatched from Edinburgh on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Rates as follows :

Every single letter not exceeding one sheet to or
from any place not exceeding 40 miles distance

from place of receipt	-	-	-	-	-	Two shillings (Scots).
Every double letter same	-	-	-	-	-	Four shillings (Scots).
Every once weight	-	-	-	-	-	Five shillings (Scots).

And for four score miles or upwards these rates are doubled. And so forth proportionately.

Moreover, for every one who wishes to ride post, three shillings (Scots) per mile, and a goat each stage for guide."

* *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde (New Series), vol. iv. p. 96.*

subjects to open rebellion, threatening the persons of the regular ministers, and preparations made to take up arms against His Majesty, his authority and laws; these and the like practices which were followed by the fanatics when they rose in rebellion in 1666, has moved His Majesty's Privy Council to take effectual course for suppressing those insolencies by drawing the King's standing forces of horse and foot together, and making suitable preparations for their march upon the first order, and by requiring the noblemen who have interest in the Highlands, and others in the north parts who have considerable vassals and following, to be in readiness to march to Stirling upon the first advertisement. And from thence (joining with the King's forces) to march to the west, to the places infested with these disorders. And those forces of horse and foot (besides the King's standing forces) are assured to be four thousand five hundred foot and five or six hundred horse, to be present at the first rendezvous there, and that many more can be drawn together if there be need for it, and all this besides the Militia.

" 2. You shall let his Lordship know that there are none risen yet in arms, and therefore the Council has not as yet called any horse or foot together except the King's standing forces, but has them ready upon a week's advertisement.

" 3. That we are very glad to know of so considerable a party of horse and foot ordered by His Majesty for assisting his service here, and that they are commanded by his Lordship. And though the Privy Council is not resolved to desire his Lordship march hither till they find great cause for it, yet it is fit his Lordship should know the condition of this kingdom, and we his, and what preparation he expects towards his landing.

"4. That his Lordship give notice what place he intends to land at (if called for), and in order to his transportation it is not doubted but convenient vessels, and all other things necessary for his embarking, will be carefully provided on the Irish side, seeing we have nothing fit for such passage to send from hence.

"5. In order to the provisions and forage for horse, it is known that the country where he intends to land is sufficiently able to provide all the horses in corn and straw, and victuals for the horse and foot, in order to which, fit persons (so many as are necessary) shall be provided to be in readiness upon his Lordship's first landing to provide all things necessary in the premises; and his Lordship may (as he thinks fit) take care to transport a month's provisions of bread, cheese or other victuals for the horse and foot.

"6. The Privy Council has ordered the establishment of a horse post by stages from Edinburgh to Portpatrick, and from thence by sea to Donaghadee, according to the warrant of the Council herewith sent; and therefore it is offered that a packet boat be provided on the Irish side, and the post established on that side by land, this being His Majesty's express command.

"7. That his Lordship may provide a train of field Artillery to bring along with him, with suitable ammunition.

"8. That his Lordship give notice how soon he can be ready to land in Scotland after he receives advertisement; wind and weather serving.

What his Lordship thinks fit to return in answer by you, or what he shall acquaint us with hereafter, we shall readily comply with, and shall make suitable returns to his Lordship.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE."

To these Instructions Granard returned the following reply : ⁷

“ That my Lord Viscount of Granard has orders from His Majesty and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to embark these forces now under his command and conduct them to Scotland, if so required by the Lords of His Majesty’s Privy Council there, and from time to time to receive such orders as shall be sent to him by their Lordships.

“ That the forces my Lord has here are above two thousand foot and three hundred horse, all commanded men, besides officers and servants, which are all ready, if required, to attend His Majesty’s service there or elsewhere. His Lordship’s humble opinion is that (if he be called for) Dumbarton-Haven, or any place about Granack (Greenock), is the fittest place to land on, and his Lordship’s reasons are—because it is near Stirling, near Ed. (Edinburgh), and a plentiful country before him, and the Highlands at his back, and a place where he may join with any of His Majesty’s forces that are raised or are to be raised. As for shipping, they are now all ready, and His Majesty at a thousand pounds a month charge for their demurrage, besides the disadvantages His Majesty sustains by loss of trade, and his Lordship desires a sudden resolution that His Majesty may be rid of that charge. That he conceives if the enemy be strong he cannot quarter at large his horse and foot, and for that reason he has provided 30,000 weight of biscuit, but if otherwise he will make the best shift he can to do it out of the country.

“ As to the post and the boat, his Lordship thinks my Lord Lieutenant will give orders for it according to their desire, and has done already something preparative to it. That

⁷ *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde (New Series), vol. iv. pp. 73, 74.*

his Lordship has already four field pieces ready with ammunition, together with spades, shovels, pickaxes, and the like, in case they have use for them—for all which his Lordship desires carriage horses may be provided at the place where he designs to land, it being a hard matter to get ships enough to transport all the horse and foot here now at one time; his Lordship can be on shipboard, if the embargo be not taken off, in forty-eight hours advertisement."

On December 15th, 1677, Sir George Rawdon, then in Ireland, wrote to Viscount Conway concerning the arrival of Maitland and his mission, stating that Maitland had deprecated any hasty movement of the Irish troops but had rather suggested that time should be given "to try if any oyer expedient could be found to quyet or lay the wicked spirit infused by their ministers into the common people, rather than to invite forreiners, as these are termed, to suppress it, And for yt end every one of that Councell were summoned to appear at Edinburgh, and Duke Hamilton came in thither the same day this captain left, who had not ben there before since Duke Lauderdale's last coming into Scotland, And upon their result orders are to come to this brigade unto wch itt is to give obedience, And it is thought they will not easily all agree to send for this party over." ⁸

Apparently, indeed, the Privy Council, although ready to launch the Highlanders upon the West, were unable to agree as to whether English and Irish forces should also be summoned,⁹ and ultimately it was decided that the Scotch levies would be sufficient to perform any task required of them. The decision gave great satisfaction to many in

⁸ *S.P. Ireland, Car. II.*, vol. 538.

⁹ *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 398, No. 124.

Ireland who had feared the defection of the men of Ulster.¹⁰

Meanwhile the gentlemen of the Shires, threatened thus with invasion both by Highlanders and by troops from Ireland, had met as requested by the Privy Council, to consider the situation. On November 2nd they met at Irvine and passed three resolutions to be transmitted to the Council. They were of opinion that to suppress conventicles was outwith their powers, that a toleration of presbyterianism alone would put an end to all disorder, and that the measure of toleration in Scotland should be no less than that already granted in England and in Ireland.¹ The crisis had thus been reached, since Lauderdale was determined to entertain no idea of toleration with regard to Presbyterians. The news that the chief men of the West had thus publicly set themselves in opposition to his policy roused him to immediate action. He therefore hastened to acquaint the King with his plans, and wrote to Huntly, Perth and Airly, giving them orders to have their men in

¹⁰ Thus on December 7th, the Earl of Ormonde writes to the Lord-Lieutenant: "My London and Dublin Letters by this post tell me the late clouds in Scotland are blown away; if it be so I shall be very glad of it on many accounts. For I confess to your Grace I was not without apprehensions that if that part of the army under my Lord Granard's command had been transported into Scotland, the Ulster Scots might not have been quiet. For I believe too many of them are inclined as some of their countrymen are, and I saw no preparations in that case to send more of this army into Ulster, nor indeed a possibility to do it, this army being so small and the revenue so anticipated, which made me doubt, while we went to quench our neighbour's house, our own might be set on fire. Till I know on what account the tumults there have been appeased, I shall not be able to form a judgment satisfactory to myself how long this pacification will last. But I too well remember when the first pacification was made in the year 1639 the sore was but skinned, and not healed at the bottom, and therefore soon after broke out more fiercely; I heartily pray the like may never happen again."

Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde (New Series),
vol. iv. p. 77.

¹ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 375.

readiness to march whenever they should be called upon.²

On December 11th, 1677, Charles replied to Lauderdale's letter by empowering him to direct the march of the Highlanders to the West, as soon as he should find it expedient to do so. After speaking of the extreme necessity of the case, Charles expressed his entire approval of the plan of employing the clansmen. "We have been with much satisfaction informed," he says, "that you have required the noblemen and others who have interest and considerable vassals and following in the Highlands, and places thereto adjacent, to be in readiness, with what forces they can bring out, to rendezvous at Stirling, upon the first advertisement; which we do very much approve, and give you our very hearty thanks for your care therein—seeing we are fully resolved to maintain, preserve, and defend the government of the church in that our kingdom, as it is now established by law, and not to suffer our authority to be thus invaded and trode upon, nor longer to endure the insolencies formerly mentioned." Continuing, the King gave authority for the free quartering of these forces upon the western shires, and the seizing of such horses as might be required for military purposes; the heritors were to be compelled to "give bond for their tenants, and others that live upon and possess their lands that they shall keep no conventicles, that they shall live orderly and obedient to the laws," the punishment for disobedience being "fining, confining, imprisonment, or banishment." Garrisons were to be placed wherever necessary throughout the districts, while more troops could be called in from England and Ireland should that be desired. Finally, Lauderdale was given authority to embody either the whole militia of Scotland

² *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 375. *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 398, No. 124.

or such part of it as he should consider sufficient for his purpose.³

On December 25th, 1677, Lauderdale himself, whose preparations in Scotland were now well advanced, felt so confident of the strength of the force thus prepared in Scotland that he wrote to Sir Henry Coventry concerning the troops in the north of Ireland. "It hath been of great use to the King's service that the party is so near, and hath damped the disaffected, and I beg they may continue on that coast; but my humble opinion is that it is enough if they quarter on that coast as formerly. Within a few days I hope to give the King a good account of effectual orders given by the Privy Council here for suppressing the fanatics and settling the peace."⁴

The very fact, indeed, that such preparations were being made both in Scotland and in Ireland had already served the purpose of "settling the peace," which Lauderdale averred to be his aim. On December 27th, 1677, Sir C. Musgrave writes to Williamson telling him that there is no longer any disturbance in the West of Scotland. "By letters from Scotland dated ye 22 and 23, they write ye Councell have sent to ye Ld. Lt. of Ireland and Sr. Arthur Fforbus their thanks for their great care in ye North of Ireland, and yt ye West of Scotland is very quiet. I perceive ye West was very apprehensive ye Lds of ye Councell wd call in ye English fforces upon them & ffearefull yt ye Highlanders would be drawne down and if they continue quiet it must be ascribed to ye ffeare of ye fforce wch may so soone be poured on them from England and Ireland, for questionless their inclinacions are to rebell."⁵

³ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 377.

⁴ *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde* (New Series), vol. iv. p. 80.

⁵ *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 398, No. 133.

Lauderdale, however, although thus assured that the descent upon the Whigs was no longer necessary unless he wished it to partake of the character of a punitive expedition, was determined that no appearance of peace in the West was to prevent the carrying into execution of his carefully matured project. A supreme commander for the force had already been selected in George, Earl of Linlithgow, who, on December 18th, 1677, had been appointed to the supreme command of all the troops which were being assembled.⁶ The commanders of the Highlanders had also been chosen. The Marquis of Athol, by commission from the Privy Council, dated 26th December, 1677, had received powers to assemble the gentlemen and heritors of Perthshire (except those of Monteith and Strathearn who were to be under the command of the Earls of Murray and of Perth), the Highlanders in the country of Athole, and others "within his owne lands, property or superiority," and form them into regiments and troops as should appear best to him, it being ordered that the heritors, except those placed in command of companies of Highlanders, were to assemble on horseback.⁷

Atholl, on 31st December, writing to Lauderdale, acknowledged the receipt of a letter from the Duke on the subject, along with his commission from the Privy Council, in a communication assuring him of his faithfulness and readi-

⁶ 18th December, 1677. George, Earl of Linlithgow to be Major-General of all his Majesty's forces in Scotland "in place of Sir George Monro, our late Major General, whose Commission is hereby declared void—Giving hereby unto you full Power and Authority to command our Standing forces, our Militia, and all the Troopes, both Horse and floote that are or shall be drawn together by Warrant from us or our Privy Council, towards ye Expedition lately ordered by us for our important Service in that our Kingdome."

Warrant Book, Scotland, Car. II., vol. iv. p. 278.

⁷ *Reg. Privy Council, Scotland, vol. v. (Third Series), pp. 300, 301.*

ness to carry out all his instructions.⁸ By a commission from the Privy Council dated also Edinburgh, 26th December, 1677, the Earl of Perth was likewise appointed to "convocate the inhabitants of Strathearn, form them into regiments, troops, and companies, and march with them to Stirling, there to await orders from the Privy Council."⁹ Perth, in common with the others deputed to raise the Host, had already been in communication with Lauderdale, and in a letter dated from Linlithgow on the 3rd December, had intimated his own eagerness to lead his friends and followers wherever he might be of service and "ther readiness to complye with a thing so much tending to ther honour, & so neccessarily their duty."¹⁰

The eagerness of Atholl and Perth to descend with their followers is all the more notable in view of the fact that

⁸ "May it please your Grace,

I received the honnour of yr letter saturday night, & an order & Comission from his Majesties Privie Councell to have the Heretores of Perthshire in readiness to march to Sterlin the 24 of januarie, I am to write to y^e Heretores to meet me the 8 of Jan:^{re} at Perth, that I may lett them know the Councell's pleasure. I had waited on yr Gr: the next Councell day had it not bin for this, for it had bin impossible to have them or my owne Men in readiness without my stay, but I hope to kiss yr Gr: handes before the 24 of jan:^{re}; I doubt not but his Majestie by your advice, has made a very good choice of the Earle of Linlithgoe to be Major Generall & Commander in Chiefe of all forces, horse and foott, raised or to bee raised, I was never wanting in my advice when called, though it signified very little, much less shall I be wanting in any action I am capable off, that conscernes his Majesties service, for I have when others have not, & shall continue still in that duty nor shall I ever faile in my faithfullness to your Grace, if you will but allow me still the honnour of the tytyle of being sincerely,

May it please yr Grace,

Yr Gr: most obedient oblidge & most humble servant,

ATHOLL."

Tullibardine, 31 De:^{er}, 1677."

The Lauderdale Papers, vol. iii. pp. 98-99.

⁹ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix vi. p. 156. *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series), p. 301.

¹⁰ *The Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 93.

within a few months, disappointed in their hopes of rich reward, they had joined the opponents of Lauderdale's government in Scotland. Even before setting out for the West, Perth was in communication with Hamilton, assuring him that to be one of the Committee of the West would not be at all agreeable to his temper. Sending to Hamilton at the same time a copy of his commission, he complains that Lauderdale has "delt a little cunningly," "for Earl Errol told me that at first they had resolved to mention only a request that wee should joyn with and assist the King's forces, but if wee were slack they wold send a command, backt unpleasantly, yet in the commission they say such as offered (as if it had been a voluntary choyce), to assist the King's forces." He fears also the conduct of the Highlanders who must pass through his country on their way to the rendezvous at Stirling—no very pleasant statement for Hamilton who saw them about to descend upon his own broad lands. "If the Hyland-men march, Carrick or Galloway wil not suffer half so much as I, for not a man shall go to Stirling, but he must go through my bounds, and where they wil go through the west once, I shall have Huntly, Athol, Caithness, Mar, Airly, evrie on in his tour to destroy my people, and if I be not in a pretty taking let the Councell judg." ¹

Along with Atholl and Perth, the Privy Council had commissioned the Earl of Murray to raise the men of the Stewartry of Monteith and the Lordship of Doune, the Earl of Mar to levy his Highlanders from the Braes of Mar, and the Earl of Caithness to lead to the rendezvous the Highlanders on his estates in Perthshire and Argyleshire.² It had been decided also that certain regiments of lowland

¹ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix vi. pp. 162-3.

² *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 301.

militia should likewise be sent to the West and, therefore, the Earl of Strathmore was commissioned to raise the militia troop of horse and the regiment of foot under his command in Forfarshire, while the militia of the shire of Edinburgh, under the command of Lauderdale himself, was to be embodied for the purpose of acting as a garrison when the regular troops stationed in Edinburgh should march to the West. The militia troop of horse of the same shire of Edinburgh was to be embodied under the Earl of Dalhousie, and was to lie near Edinburgh ready to carry out any orders of the Council.³

On December 26th, 1677, Charles authorized the issuing of the Commission for raising the Highlanders, ordering the various chiefs to be in Stirling by the 24th January, 1678, there to await orders. Authority was given in this commission to take free quarter, and to seize upon horses as deemed necessary "for carrying their sick men, ammunition and other provisions," while complete indemnity was given against any action, civil or criminal, which might be brought up for any offence committed in the King's service "by killing, wounding, apprehending, or imprisoning such as shall make opposition to our authority, or by seizing such as they have reason to suspect, the same being always done by order of our privy council, their committee, or of the superior officer."⁴

The Bishops had, with great satisfaction, seen the preparations for the subduing of the discontented West, and on December 21st, issued a "Memorandum by the Bishops anent what is fit to be done for suppressing disorders in the West," in which they urged that the most stringent

³ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) pp. 303, 304. *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 398, No. 124.

⁴ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series), pp. 300, 301.

measures should be taken. So many of their suggestions were afterwards carried into effect, indeed, that it appears plain that Lauderdale was, to a great extent, acting at their instigation and under their influence.⁵ When the Bishop of London on December 14th, 1677, wrote to Lauderdale assuring him of "the gratitude our whole Church owes to you for y^e very great protection & encouragement you give to those of its principles in Scotland," he did so with good reason.⁶

Meanwhile, anxious to prevent the threatened invasion if possible, the gentlemen of the western countries spoke of making petition directly to the King against Lauderdale. The Privy Council, however, took steps to prevent this by an "Act prohibiting noblemen and others to go out of the kingdom without a license," issued on January 3rd, 1678,⁷ and at the same time summoned the principal gentlemen of the shires to attend a committee of the Council to meet at Glasgow on the 26th. For the most part, however, these repeated proclamations had no effect on the landowners of the West. Hamilton, for instance, writes on 18th January, 1678: "Sir John Cochrane was heere last night and he tells me the West Countrie gentlemen gott nothing done; all resolves to suffer patiently the worst."⁸

The gentlemen of Ayrshire had already sought to avert the threatened blow by sending a deputation of nine of their number to Lauderdale to plead "that there was not the least tendency among the people to rebel, and that an indulgence to Presbyterians would serve to put an end to

⁵ *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 95-98. (See Appendix.)

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 94.

⁷ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 380-381. *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series), pp. 304, 305.

⁸ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XV.*, Appendix viii. p. 283.

Conventicles and all other irregularities," and to deprecate "that severe procedure of sending among them so inhuman and barbarous a crew." Some of them had even declared themselves prepared to answer for the peace of the whole shire, provided that the standing forces were sent without the Highlanders. Lauderdale, however, refused to discuss matters with the deputation unless they signed the bond, not only for themselves, but for all the other heritors of the shire. To comply with this demand was impossible and the delegates had thus to return without having effected any part of their purpose.⁹ Some of them, indeed, like Hamilton, were of opinion that something more sinister was on foot than they could even conjecture,¹ and that Lauderdale had little desire to have his plans rendered valueless by the ready submission of the West. These plans were now matured and ready to be carried into operation.

On the 18th of January, 1678, there was issued the "Commission to the committee of the Council in the West." In this document it was stated that since the leading gentlemen of the western counties had declared that they were not able to repress the growing disorders within the shires, and since it was necessary to protect all good citizens from the result of such rebellious practices, the King had given orders for the mobilisation of the standing army in Scotland, with some militia regiments and a body of Highlanders, who were under orders to march to the disaffected districts. In order that all things might be done legally

⁹ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 388.

¹ "I am apt to be of your judgment that the calling of these forces together to Glasgow is more for perticular prejudices to some of us, or upon some designs we understand not, then for what is pretended." Hamilton to Queensberry, 18th January, 1678.

Historical MSS. Commission, Report XV., Appendix viii. p. 233.

and that the object of the expedition might be the more effectively attained, a committee of the Privy Council was to accompany the troops, with full powers "to issue out proclamations and orders, persew and punish delinquents, apprehend and secure suspect persons and cause bands be subscribed and generally all other thinges to doe with that same power and in that same maner as if our Privy Council were all there personally present."² The Marquis of Atholl, the Earls of Mar, Glencairn, Moray, Linlithgow, Perth, Wigton, Strathmore, Airly, and Caithness, and Lord Ross were the eleven members of this Committee. Nine of these, as Wodrow very pertinently observes, held commissions in the expeditionary force, "and so were the more like to see to their own adherents and followers, and manage the host to good purpose."³

To their Commission was added a set of "Instructions to the committee for the west."⁴ In terms of these instructions they were to march with the forces already ordered to assemble at Stirling on the 24th January, first to Glasgow and then to Ayrshire, where they were to enforce the bond, disarm the people, prosecute all who had been present at conventicles, burn all preaching houses and rase them to the ground. All horses above the value of fifty pounds Scots were to be secured, all the forces were to be quartered

² *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series), pp. 319, 320.

³ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 383.

The following is a list of the Commissioners of the West, with the number of their attendances :

George, Earl of Linlithgow (76); Patrick, Earl of Strathmore (71); George, Lord Rosse (64); James, Earl of Airlie (63); John, Earl of Glencairn (60); John, Earl of Caithness (59); Alexander, Earl of Moray (49); James, Earl of Perth (34); John, Marquis of Athol (34); Charles, Earl of Mar (29); William, Earl of Wigton (12).

Register Privy Council, Scotland, vol. v. (Third Series), p. xvi.

⁴ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series), pp. 320, 321, 322, 323, 324. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. pp. 384, 385, 386.

upon the people and sufficient garrison stationed in the principal houses of the shire. After Ayrshire had been reduced to order, the committee was to move to Lanarkshire, then to Renfrewshire, and thence to the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

Well might Sir George Rawdon, writing on January 22nd, say: "There has not beane in our tyme such an ample comission granted as the comitye haith, ffor they have nott onely lyberty to sequester men's estates and denounce them fugitives who will nott subscribe the Bond ffor keeping of the peace, Bbut, if they meet with the least opposition in their march, to putt all to the sword before them."⁵ That such opposition was feared was evident to him since he had heard that the Committee of the Council, to complete the equipment of their little army, intended to take cannon with them, "4 brass from Edinburgh and 4 from Stirling,"⁶ thus utilising some of the cannon provided for field service by royal warrant of 8th January, 1675.⁷

During the period of quiet intervening before the despatch of the Host to the West, the authorities both in Ireland and in Scotland were occupied with the confession and examination of a certain proscribed Scottish preacher called Douglas, who had fled to Ireland, and meeting there on December 6th with Captain Mansell, one of Ormonde's officers, had professed to show him the real state of affairs in Scotland, upon promise of "kindness and friendship, and that he should be provided for in this kingdom."

⁵ *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 400, No. 116.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Among Instructions given for improving the defences of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton Castles: "It is our Royall Pleasure that you mount twenty peeces of Ordnance upon field carriages and have them and all necessities thereunto belonging in readiness to be carried upon any occasion into the field, as our service shall require the same."

Warrant Book, Scotland, Car. II., vol. iii., No. 163.

Douglas stated that there was "a full purpose in the fanatics of Scotland to take the sword in hand," and that they had received promises of support and help from many of the greatest noblemen and gentlemen. Welsh, he affirmed, had gone to England, having promised his followers to return by the 30th of January, and having left orders that in the meantime they should not gather in any great numbers.⁸ Douglas added further that the disaffected party in Scotland had already received some £2000 from friends in London "for thi beter caring on of Godes cause," and that large stores of arms had been collected in Edinburgh and Glasgow in readiness for rebellion.⁹

Ormond promptly forwarded the confession of Douglas to Lauderdale, who, receiving the communication on Sunday, the 13th January, immediately ordered "an exact search for arms in all the places which are so particularly described in Douglas's examination," both in Edinburgh and in Glasgow, and both at the same time. On receipt of these orders, Lord Ross immediately marched to Glasgow from Edinburgh "with a sufficient party of foot and a squad of the King's troop of Guards." Neither in Edinburgh nor in Glasgow, however, did any success at first attend the search, and Lord Ross was therefore ordered to remain in Glasgow and continue his search, until the rest of the troops ordered for service in the West should arrive.¹⁰ Wodrow speaks with indignation of the arrival of Ross and his troops on a Sunday, and of the consternation caused among the citizens by what they took to be a premature

⁸ *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde (New Series)*, vol. iv. p. 75.

⁹ *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 338, No. 131.

¹⁰ *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde (New Series)*, vol. iv. p. 88.

quartering of the forces ordered for the West, sent thus early by the government with malicious intent.¹

By the end of January, however, Douglas was discredited as utterly untrustworthy. In a letter dated January 29th, Ormond writing of this, says: "Colonel Jeffreys is returned out of Scotland and says Douglas is a notorious cheat, and so esteemed by those of all sides there, and by some held to be frantic. I have spoken several times with him, and all the signs of madness I can discover in him is that he should affirm so many things and so particularly which a sober man must know would be disproved in a short time."² The matter did not end so simply for Captain Mansell, who, unfortunately for himself, had given too much credence to Douglas and had, without considering matters, denounced both Lord Granard and Lauderdale as being in league with the Whigs.³ "Certain it is," Ormond writes, "Mansell has conducted the whole matter very unskilfully and impertinently."⁴ Ultimately, Mansell was brought to trial and cashiered, Ormond's comment being: "The truth is, nothing of that nature could be more against the obedience and respect due to a superior officer in chief command upon an expedition, or might more probably have brought him into distrust with the party he commanded."⁵

In spite of all rumours of rebellion, however, and although it had been affirmed that "this rebellious rout" had already a probable leader in one "Colonel Fox," an Englishman, who was "a companion of Welch and went

¹ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 387.

² *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde* (New Series), vol. iv. p. 99.

³ *S.P. Ireland, Car II.*, vol. 338, No. 143.

⁴ *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde* (New Series), vol. iv. p. 99.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 117.

well mounted and attended,"⁶ the West, towards the time appointed for the muster of the Host, still remained to all appearance peaceful, greatly to the disappointment of many of those who, according to Burnet, had already cast lots for the estates of the disaffected landowners of the western shires.⁷ Lauderdale, nevertheless, in spite of the facts, was determined that the forces which had been summoned were to be employed and therefore took no steps to countermand the orders already given.

Accordingly, on January 15th, 1678, it was announced that a quorum of the Privy Council would sit at Glasgow on the 24th, and that on the same day "the Regiment of Ffoot Guards and the Gard of Horse, 16 ffoot campaynes of ffoot belonging to the toun of Edinburgh and the whole militia of Stirlingshire" would muster at Stirling. Along with them were to go "nine wagons ffor carrying y^r amunition and other necessaries, with the ffield pieces."⁸ Orders had already been issued for the transporting of the artillery; a hundred horses, with men to attend them, were to be provided by the city of Edinburgh and adjacent parishes. These were to be in readiness at the Castlehill of Edinburgh on 22nd January to take the artillery to Linlithgow. At Linlithgow, upon the 23rd, a similar number of horses with men, provided by Linlithgow and parishes near, was to be

⁶ *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 400, No. 36.

⁷ Burnet, *History of My Own Times*, vol. ii. pp. 184, 185.

⁸ *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 400, No. 77.

A small body of men had just been trained in Scotland in the use of artillery, John Slessor, his Majesty's chief engineer for Scotland, having on 4th March, 1677, been appointed Lieutenant of Artillery in Scotland, with instructions to choose one man from each company of the Regiment of Guards, five men from the garrison of Edinburgh Castle, three from that of Stirling, and two from that of Dumbarton, to the number of twenty in all. These men he was to instruct in "all things belonging to artillery, as Gunnery, casting Hand Granades and fireworks."

Warrant Book, Scotland, Car. II., vol. iv., Nos. 151 and 152.

ready to take the cannon and ammunition to Kilsyth. Various parishes in the shire of Stirling were to provide the same number of horses to take the pieces of artillery to Glasgow upon the 24th of January, the day already fixed for the general muster at Stirling.⁹ This force of Regulars and Militia was met at Stirling by the levies of Fencibles from the territories of the Marquis of Atholl and of the Earl of Caithness, and by the militia regiments from the lands of the Earls of Airlie, Mar, Moray, Perth and Strathmore.

The irregular forces assembled under their various commanders as follows :¹

	Horse.	Foot.
Marquis of Atholl - - -	88 ²	2188 ³
Earl of Perth - - -	88 ⁴	530 ⁵
Earl of Caithness - - -	—	1576 ⁶
(Breadalbane)		
Lord Charles Murray's Troop -	140 ⁷	—
The Perthshire Gentlemen -	90 ⁸	—
Earl of Moray - - -	80 ⁹	200 ¹⁰

⁹ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series), pp. 314, 315, 316.

¹ The troops are thus detailed in *A Military History of Perthshire*, edited by the Marchioness of Tullibardine, p. 114, where the authorities quoted are also given.

² Commanded by Lord John Murray. This was the strength according to the Militia establishment.

³ Official muster at Stirling, 24th January, 1678.

⁴ Strength according to Militia establishment.

⁵ Official muster at Stirling.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Highest number mentioned by Wodrow.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ An estimated number. Mentioned neither in *Privy Council Records* nor in *Wodrow*. It is supposed that this is Lord Rollo's troop, mentioned in *Wodrow*.

¹⁰ Official muster, Stirling, 24th January, 1678. The Earl of Moray was appointed Colonel of the Elgin and Nairn Militia on 8th January, 1669. *Privy Council Register*, 8th January, 1669.

	Horse.	Foot.
Earl of Mar - - - - -	—	700 ¹¹
Angus Foot Militia - - - -	—	1000 ¹²
Angus Horse Militia - - -	52 ¹³	—
(Earl of Airlie)		
Angus Horse Militia - - -	52 ¹⁴	—
(Earl of Strathmore)		
	590	6124

With the standing forces of 160 life guards and 1100 foot, the total muster of the Host reaches the number of 750 horse and 7224 infantry, slightly under 8000 men in all.¹ The regular troops marched with the Highlanders to the West but only a few were used in the actual operations against the shires.² The militia regiments of Midlothian,

¹¹ Official muster, Stirling, 24th January, 1678. The Earl of Mar was Colonel of the Stirling and Clackmannan Foot Militia. *Warrant Book*, Scotland, 29th May, 1676.

¹² Strength according to Militia establishment. See Earl of Strathmore's Commission. *Privy Council Register*, 26th Decr., 1677.

¹³ Strength according to establishment.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

By Act of Parliament of Scotland, September 23rd, 1663 (*Act Parl. Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 480), the Militia establishment of Scotland was fixed at twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse "sufficiently armed and furnished with fourty dayes provision" to be raised from the several shires.

In 1668 it was decreed by the Privy Council that when the number of foot from any shire exceeded 1100, they should be divided into two regiments, and that when the number of horse exceeded 80 they should be divided into two troops. The establishments of Perthshire and of Fifeshire had been fixed at 1660 foot and 176 horse each. These two shires, therefore, had each two regiments of foot, and two troops of horse.

Register Privy Council, Scotland, 1668, p. 434.

¹ Wodrow, adding to the number of military "vast numbers of stragglers who came only for booty and plunder," puts the total at 10,000 in all. Fountainhall puts the number at 8000 (*Hist. Notices*, vol. i. p. 187); Burnet at 8000 (vol. ii. p. 20). Law's total, including five or six thousand Highlanders and the various Militia and Regular Regiments is 8000 or 9000 (*Memorials*, p. 136). Kirkton's estimate is 8000.

² *Military History of Perthshire*, p. 116.

Fife, and Stirling were embodied for the maintenance of order during the absence of the Host in the West.³

By the "Memorial for instructions to the commissioners for the militia in the severall shyres" of 29th April, 1668,⁴ it had been laid down that in every company two thirds of the men must carry muskets and the other third pikes, these being supplied at the expense of the heritors of the various shires. The muskets were for use with matchwork, it being specially forbidden to have firearms with snapwork, a rule against which the Marquis of Atholl had vigorously protested in 1668 on the ground that the Highlanders of the shire of Perth were "altogether unacquainted with the use of any other gunne but fyrelocks," with which they were well provided.⁵ The matter was referred to the King, and left by him at the discretion of the Council, who seem never to have given any clear decision on the matter.⁶ In all probability, therefore, snapwork firelocks as well as matchwork muskets were carried by the Highlanders in their march to the West. The ordinary pike of the period was sixteen feet long, the standard pike for use being in the magazine of Edinburgh Castle. The cavalry part of the militia force carried sword and pistols, and for defensive equipment "back, breast and pott," these being provided by the heritors.⁷ The muster of the Host at Stirling was

³ *Military History of Perthshire*, p. 116. *S.P. Ireland, Car. II.*, vol. 338, No. 140

⁴ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, 1668, p. 439.

⁵ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, 1668, p. 449.

⁶ *Military History of Perthshire*, p. 106.

⁷ *Register Privy Council*, 1668, p. 440. *Warrant Book, Scotland, Car. II.*, vol. iii., No. 197.

"Articles and Rules for the Better Government of his Maties Forces in Scotland." Article 37. Dated 26th Feb., 1675. "None shall be mustered but such as are compleatly armed, viz., Each Horseman to have for his defensive armes, Back, Breast, and Pott, and for his offensive armes, a sword not under three foote long in the blade, and a case of Pistells, the

directed by Sir Thomas Elphingston of Calderhall, muster-master-general of the army, and by Richard Elphingston of Airth, his deputy.⁸

The Highlanders, thus well equipped with every warlike weapon necessary for their descent upon the fertile shires, assembled with such expedition and evident eagerness for whatever might be required of them as to evoke the warm praise of Lauderdale, who, on February 1st, wrote thus in glowing terms concerning his new levies to Lord Granard. "The forces which the King called together for training the mad fanatics in our western shires did keep the rendezvous frequently and exactly, and there be in the shires of Ayr, Renfrew, and Lanark at this time seven thousand foot effective, and about one thousand horse at least. This force will, I hope, do the business, and when they are once forced into obedience and order, it will be the fault of the Privy Council, if they be not kept from playing such tricks again in haste."⁹

Wodrow, writing of the thoroughness of the Highlanders' preparations, says: "They had no small store of ammunition with them, four field pieces, vast numbers of spades, shovels, mattocks, as if they had been to have attacked great fortifications. They had good store of iron shackles, as if they were to lead back vast numbers of slaves; and thumblocks, as they call them, to make their examina-

Barrells whereof not to be under fourteen Inches in length, and each Trooper of our Guard to have a Carbine besides the foresaid armes. And the foote to have each soldier a Sword or Dagger for their muskets, and each Pikeman a Pike of sixteen foote long and not under, and each Musqueteer a musquett, (with a Coller of Bandailiers) the Barrell of which musquett to be about four foote long and to containe a Bullett, fourteene of which shall make a pound, running into the Barrell."

⁸ *Treasury Sederunt*, 16th January, 1678.

⁹ *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde* (New Series) vol. iv. p. 100.

tions and trials with. The musketeers had their daggers so made, if need were, to fasten upon the mouth of their pieces, and maul horse, like our bayonets, not yet brought to perfection. In this posture came they West." ¹⁰

Such was the terror inspired by the very name of these clansmen among the people of the West, that their coming was awaited with that spirit of resignation to the inevitable evinced by those who feel that fate for them can now have nothing worse in store. Thus Sir George Rawdon, writing on January 25th to Viscount Conway to tell him of the assembling of the Highlanders and their descent upon the West, reported: "The heyland Forces raysed by their lords of their owne vassals with such dilligence, are descended lyke a Torrent, and were to rendezvous yesterday at Stirlin, near 6000, to ye exceeding great terror of ye Lowlanders. . . . The people generally are in such a consternation by this inundation of the hylanders that, if this designe be hotly pursued while they are in this humour, it will be effected." Sir George was of those who believed that an organised rebellion of the Whigs had been very narrowly averted. Speaking of this, he continued: "Doubtless the sending hither of this brigade (the force in Northern Ireland) so near them with such dilligence was well tymed to prevent their appearance in rebellion last October, which they intended, as is the generall opinion from very pregnant circumstances, for thereupon their ministers did all desert their scabt flocks and fled, and absconded since, advising the people not to inquire of them, and that soon after the meeting of the Parliament in England they would return and advise them what was to be done. And though noo arms have been found where Douglas informed, though strict searches were made for

¹⁰ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 389.

them presently after Coll. Jeffreyes arrival at Edinburgh, yet his discovery has so awakened the diligence of the ministers of state and the loyal subjects there, that it is to be hoped a great mischief has in a great measure been tymeously prevented."¹

Believing, therefore, that the Host had been mustered none too soon and that only a severe lesson would bring the stubborn Whig to reason, Lauderdale and his Privy Council watched with keen satisfaction the march of this force, upon which such extraordinary powers had been conferred.

¹ *S.P. Ireland, Car. II.*, vol. 338, No. 135.

CHAPTER III.

THE HOST IN THE WEST.

ON the day on which the Host mustered, the lords of the Committee in the West held their first meeting at Stirling, the Marquis of Atholl being President; at the Sederunt were present the Earls of Moray, Linlithgow, Perth, Strathmore and Airlie. Their first work was to appoint quarters for the various troops. The Highlanders under the Earl of Caithness were quartered for the night in Stirling; the Perthshire horse under the Marquis of Atholl were quartered at Falkirk, the troop commanded by the Earl of Perth being sent to Larbert; the Angus Militia under the Earl of Strathmore was to march next morning to Kilsythe, while the two troops of horse from the same shire under the Earls of Strathmore and Airlie were to march to Kirkintilloch. The horse and foot under the Earl of Moray were ordered to take quarters for the night in the kirktown of St. Ninian's and Bannockburn. The Earl of Perth's men were to take quarters at Craigforth, while the foot regiment of the Earl of Atholl was to quarter in the parish of St. Ninian's in the places not already occupied by other troops.¹

On the same day, the commissariat officer was ordered to serve each soldier daily with two pounds of meal and half a pound of cheese, and to provide this daily ration,

¹ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 505.

was instructed to add three hundred bolls of meal, along with a proportionate amount of cheese, to the provisions already bought for the troops. At the same time orders were given for the arming of those Highlanders not already furnished with firearms. Of the firelocks in Stirling Castle, seventy were to be given to the men of Athole, seventy to those of Caithness, and thirty to those of Mar. In addition, these noblemen, as they should think fit, were to supply their men with pikes from the store in the Castle.²

On the 25th January, 1678, the Lords of the Committee arranged the order of the march to Glasgow, and the quarters to be taken up by the Highlanders upon arrival there. The Earls of Mar, Moray, and Perth were to march first on 20th January and take up their quarters, the Earls of Mar and Perth in and about Renfrew, the Earl of Moray in Cathcart, Langside and Pollokshaws. The Marquis of Atholl was to march next on 27th January, his objective being Rutherglen, Kilbryde, Cambuslang and adjacent places. On the 28th the Earl of Caithness was to set out, his quarters being fixed at Paisley "and some little houses thereabout."³

Meanwhile the Privy Council had, on 24th January, appointed Mr. Roderick M'Kenzie, advocate, to wait upon the Committee of the West, as nominee of and deputy for Mr. Colin M'Kenzie, already appointed to the office, who had found it impossible to attend as required. This gentleman was to act as representative of His Majesty's advocate with the Host, and was to be present at all meetings of the Committee.⁴

The Committee of the West lost no time in setting to

² *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series), p. 506.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 507.

their task of enforcing the bond and disarming the shires. The Sheriffs of the shires of Stirling, Lanark, Roxburgh, Dumfries, Wigton, and Ayr, the Bailiffs principal of Carrick, Cunningham and Glasgow, and the Stewart principal of Kirkcudbright had already been called to appear before the Committee.⁵ In this connection the Duke of Hamilton writes to the Earl of Queensberry on 9th January, 1678, telling him of his receipt from the Privy Council of a letter signed by the Duke of Lauderdale requiring him as Sheriff of Lanarkshire, to attend upon the 26th of the month, at a meeting of the Committee to be held in Glasgow. Concerned as to what might occur, and alarmed by the proclamation forbidding noblemen and heritors to depart from the kingdom without leave, Hamilton had thought of going to Edinburgh to consult there with some of his acquaintances, so that he might "understand what is there to be done, and advise with friends how to cary." "A fitt of the seatick," however, made him give up the thought of attending this conference at Edinburgh, and ultimately prevented him from being present at the meeting of the Committee at Glasgow, although he was anxious not to give offence by such failure to appear when summoned.⁶

Meanwhile, feeling himself unable to attend the meeting of Committee thus announced, Hamilton wrote to Rothes stating that owing to his illness he was not "in a capacitie" to venture to Glasgow. Rothes, informing the Committee of this, authorized them to issue a proclamation commanding the appearance of all heritors, liferenters, conjunct fiars and other responsible persons in the shire of Lanark and Regality of Glasgow at a date to be determined, it

⁵ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 389.

⁶ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XV.*, Appendix viii. pp. 232, 233.

being particularly enjoined that Hamilton, as the person most interested, must be present. This matter settled, the Committee, on the 27th of January, issued some further orders with regard to the quartering of the troops; the heritors of Perthshire were now to take up quarters in the town of Renfrew, the regiments of the Marquis of Atholl in the parishes of Rutherglen, Kilbryde and Cambuslang, the Earl of Mar's men in "meikle and little" Govans, the foot regiment of the Earl of Perth in East Kilpatrick, his horse troop in West Kilpatrick, and the regiment of Caithness in Glasgow and adjacent places.⁷

On 28th January, the Duke of Hamilton was informed in the following letter of the steps that had been taken with regard to the enforcing of the bond in Lanarkshire and Glasgow, a copy of the bond being at the same time sent to him which he was asked to present to all responsible persons within his jurisdiction. The letter, which is dated from Glasgow, reads as follows: "May it please your Grace, In respect of your indisposition and inability to attend the committie held at Glasgow as you wer appointed by a letter from his m^s privy councill the committee, conform to ane order direct to them from the council, have emitted a proclamation and ordered the same to be published at the severall crosses of Glasgow, Lanerk, Hamiltonn and Rutherglen, requyring and comanding the haille heritors, lyfrenters, conjonct fiars and others within the shyre of Lanerk and bayleary of the regaltie of Glasgow, to meit with you at Hamilton upon fryday being the first of ffebry nixt to receave and obey such orders as should be sent to you by the committee. They in pursuance of the commissions and instructions given them by his ma. privy council have herewith sent ane oth in relation to the said shyre and bay-

⁷ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) pp. 509, 510.

leary with a bond which is to be offered by you to be signed by the haill heritors, lyfrenters, conjunct fiars and others within the same. And least the said proclamation should not come to the knowledge of the heritors and others concerned, or upon pretext of not knowing thereof any should be absent, you are desyred by all possible wayes and meanes to make the same known that the dyet may be frequentlie kept. You are likewayes desyred to return to the Com-mitty agst the seivent of ffeby nixt ane exact accompt and list of the haill heritors and lyfrenters, conjunct fiars and others who shall happen to be absent from that meiting, with a list of the names of all such who being present shall either refuse or delay to subscribye to the said bond. This being ane affair wherein his ma^s service and the peace of the countrey is very much concerned, we doubt not of your rare diligence in going about and performing of what is hereby committed to you.”⁸

On the same day that this letter with regard to the enforcing of the bond was sent to Hamilton, orders were given for the disarming of the shire of Lanark and the city of Glasgow. Order and warrant was therefore given the major-general in command of the forces to send a party to the town of Hamilton to receive the arms of the people of the whole surrounding district, the instructions being that the commander of the party should grant receipts for all arms seized, and should convey the confiscated weapons to the bridge of Glasgow, where he was to deliver them to the Earl of Wigton, Captain of the Castle of Dumbarton or to his deputy, from whom he in turn was to receive a receipt. The party from Dumbarton was then to take the arms by water to the castle.⁹

⁸ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 510.

⁹ *Ibid.*

On the 28th January, a letter was received by the Committee of the West from the Privy Council with regard to various accounts for meal and cheese supplied to the Host, which were to be paid from the Public Treasury. The letter also informed the lords of the Committee that the magistrates of Edinburgh had been ordered to instruct the deacons of the shoemakers' guild of the city to make shoes as should be required of them by the leaders of the troops in the West. Shoes were likewise to be made in the various towns where the soldiers were quartered, on the understanding that all accounts would be paid by the Privy Council, who were "resolved to give all due incurragment to such as have under your command undertaken cherefully to serve his maty. on this occasion."¹⁰

Meanwhile, various complaints had already been made to the authorities concerning the conduct of the Highlanders towards those who were compelled to give them quarters, and had been the occasion on 29th January of an order made in committee and sent to the various commanders of the Highlanders bidding them "use all possible care to keep ther men from comitting any disorders."¹ On the following day a more specific charge was brought against some Highlanders quartered in Glasgow, it being alleged that they frequently deserted their quarters and went into the city, where, apparently, they annoyed the inhabitants by their unruly conduct. The case was met by a recommendation from the committee to the noblemen in command of the levies that no soldiers should be allowed to leave their quarters without special permission, it being argued that such permission should be granted as seldom as possible.²

¹⁰ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) pp. 333, 334.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 516.

- ² *Ibid.* p. 516.

On this same day warrant was given to the Major-General in command of the troops to order the Marquis of Atholl to add to the districts already occupied by "the gentlemen of Perth" the parishes of Erskine and Inchinnan, and to those occupied by his regiment of foot the parish of Carmunnock. At this same meeting of committee, it was reported by Lord Ross that upon continuing his search for arms concealed in the houses of the citizens of Glasgow, as ordered by the Privy Council, he had found 280 swords in the house of a sword maker. Orders were accordingly given that these weapons were to be delivered to the Earl of Wigton for transmission by water, along with those already confiscated elsewhere, to the castle of Dumbarton.³

On January 31st a further letter concerning the shoes ordered for the forces in the West was received by the committee from the Privy Council, announcing that the shoemakers of Edinburgh had undertaken to make two thousand pairs of double soled shoes which were to be despatched by the fifth of February, and stating that any further supplies of shoes necessary must be provided in the districts where the troops were quartered, since the shoemakers of Edinburgh could furnish no more for the time being. This letter also empowered the Earl of Linlithgow, commander of the troops, to appoint a Quartermaster-General to the forces in the West, and asked him at the same time to advise the Lords of the Treasury concerning what he thought necessary for the provision and equipment of the troops.⁴

On January 31st, the day of receipt of this communication from the Privy Council, the Committee addressed a letter to that body, enclosing an account of all their proceedings. They were of opinion that one thousand pairs of shoes,

³ *Register Privy Council Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 516.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 334.

in addition to those to be despatched from Edinburgh, would be sufficient for the needs of the troops. This number the Provost of Glasgow had already undertaken to have delivered within eight days at the price of half a crown a pair, and the committee accordingly asked that "tymous and punctuall payment" for the shoes to be supplied might be made from the Treasury.⁵ In the case of the Angus regiment of Militia, the Earl of Strathmore, their commander, paid upon delivery a certain portion of the price of the shoes provided for his men, an indication that the leaders of the Host had no intention of dealing otherwise than honourably by the townsmen. The transaction was finally settled in June, 1678, when the Provost of Glasgow made report to the Town Council of his attendance at Edinburgh upon the town's affairs. He had been paid "1056 pounds Scots in payment of 675 pounds Scots disburst by the town for shoes made for the Angus regiment, the balance of the amount being due to the Earl of Strathmore, who had paid this amount for shoes supplied to his men."⁶

In their letter of January 30th to the Privy Council, the Committee had announced their intention of marching as soon as possible to Ayrshire, since they were of opinion that the greatest part of their business in Glasgow was finished.⁷ With reference to the march of the troops to Ayr, full powers were now given to the Earl of Linlithgow to fix the times for the setting out of each part of the force. He was also empowered to provide for the quartering of the soldiers while upon the march and after their arrival in Ayrshire, his arrangements, however, being subject to revision by the committee when they should sit at Ayr.⁷

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 337.

⁶ *Burgh Records, Glasgow*, vol. iii. p. 254.

⁷ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 337.

As general in command, Linlithgow, along with the Earl of Glencairn and Lord Ross, was also ordered to provide horses for the conveyance of the train of artillery and the ammunition from Glasgow to Ayr, powers being given them to fix upon such particular towns, parishes or persons as they should think fit, to supply the necessary number of horses for this service.⁸

Although the committee were thus so far satisfied with their work in Glasgow that they felt justified in leaving the city for the more discontented district, they had not been successful in inducing many to sign the hated Bond.⁹ On the Bond being brought before the Town Council, it was resolved that the whole body of magistrates and councillors should immediately take and sign it, the Dean of Guild being at the same time instructed to summon all the

⁸ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 517.

⁹ Bond to be taken by the heritors of Lanarkshire presented to the citizens of Glasgow, January 28th, 1678.

"Wee faithfully bind and oblidge us that wee, our wyves, bairnes and servants respective shall nowayes be present at any conventicles and disorderly meitings in tyme comeing, but shall live orderly in obedience to the law under the paynes and penalties conteaned in the acts of Parliament made thereagainst. As also wee bind and oblidge us that our haill tenents and cottars respective, their wyves, bairnes and servants shall lykwayes abstaine and refraine from the saids conventicles and other illegal meitings not authorised by the law and that they shall live orderly in obedience to the law; and farder that wee nor they shall not resett, supply or common with forfaulted persons, intercommoned ministers or vagrant preachers, bot shall doe our outmost indeavour to apprehend their persons. And, in case our saids tennents, cottars and their forsaides shall contraveen, wee shall take and apprehend any person or persons guilty thereof and present them to the judge ordinar that they may be fyned or imprisoned therefore as is provydit in the acts of Parliament made thereanent, otherwayes wee shall remove them and their families aff our ground. And if we faylie hereintill, wee shall be lyeable to such paynes and penalties as the saids delinquents have incurred by the law."

Register Privy Council, Scotland, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 511.

Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 390. See also "Objections against the Pressed Bond, 1678," "Minute of some reasons in law against the Bond."—*Wodrow*, vol. ii. pp. 391-395.

merchants of the city, and the Deacon Convener all the craftsmen, so that all might take the oath as required.¹⁰ The list of those who took the Bond was thus headed by James Campbell, the Provost, whose name was followed by those of John Johnston, John Campbell and James Colquhoun, bailies, and of the rest of the Town Council. A few prominent city merchants followed the example of the Council but, on the whole, the citizens refused their signatures and only one hundred and fifty-three persons were induced to conform to the order of the Privy Council.¹

In spite of the fact, however, that the people of Glasgow were thus openly hostile to the policy of their rulers, the military occupation of the city and neighbourhood does not seem to have been attended with any degree of disorder. Apart from the discomfort of having the soldiery quartered upon them—no light thing in itself—the citizens seem to have had little or no cause for complaint against the troops. The only formal petition concerning the conduct of the soldiers was one presented by John Raltoun, who acted as Quartermaster for the Council of Glasgow. In June, 1678, Raltoun craved "satisfactionne of the damadge he susteined by some of the sojouris of the King's regiment of guard, quhen they wer last here."² In September, after due investigation, the city treasurer was ordered to pay Raltoun ten pounds sterling "for his loss he susteined by the sojouris letting out of his wyne in the cellar and uther drink quhen they came here in February last."³ In August, 1679, again, Raltoun was awarded by the Town Council the sum of £120 "for his paines in quartering the

¹⁰ *Burgh Records, Glasgow*, vol. iii. p. 247.

¹ *Wodrow*, Book ii. p. 390.

² *Burgh Records, Glasgow*, vol. iii. p. 252.

³ *Ibid.* p. 255.

sojouris the last year.”⁴ Apparently, therefore, Raltoun was at once the only citizen of Glasgow who made complaint against his unbidden guests, and, at the same time, the only person who reaped any benefit from their stay, with the exception of those Glasgow shoemakers who were entrusted with the provision of footgear for the troops.

Meanwhile, the Earl of Perth, although not prominent among the leaders of the Host, was still in correspondence with Hamilton, with what immediate purpose is not clearly intelligible, unless it be that he anticipated the fall of Lauderdale from power and wished to secure friends for himself among the opposite party. On January 31st, he wrote to the Duke assuring him that the Marquis of Atholl and he himself were still doing all they could to mitigate the unpleasantness of the situation. “We have had much talk,” he says, “about the present prospect should be had of your Grace’s circumstances. Some wold advise the bond as a good mean to put over a time, others see that may prove a snare, but our comitty. wil not hear of anything is not expressly in the instructions. Wee have not one word of any imprisoning, so I can say nothing of that; but this night wee had an order subscribed empowering the General Major to order our marches when and how he pleases until wee be at Air. This they say is levelled at Hamilton and the adjacent places. Tho’ that be about to see a friend, I am not of that opinion, for Marquis Athol’s men are nixt to your Grace’s interest, and wil not be employed that way I think. He has removed two companys from Cambuslang to ease your Grace’s tenants; he vows service and only begs to see how he may do it. I study to get all I can of intelligence, but I find they are so close, no art can reach their designs, but if they go on they must speak plain.

⁴ *Burgh Records, Glasgow*, vol. iii. p. 502.

Had Wigtown stayed ⁵ we should have begun at changing ther president ⁶ and tryed our strenth that way, but now the case at most wil be equal. Very shortly wee wil find it fitt to send home our men ; Caithness is eager for it, for his land wil be laid wast if they stay long." ⁷ From this it is clear that the subsequent disaffection of Atholl and Perth was the result of careful premeditation, although it is not at all probable that their aims and views had been made clear to those who sat with them on the committee or that the fact of their correspondence with Hamilton was known. At the same time, Lauderdale was without doubt aware that he could rely on them only so long as he held out hope of material reward.

The desire on the part of the Highland chiefs to return home, expressed thus early by Perth, was caused by the dread of a descent of their neighbours upon their unprotected territories. The Earl of Caithness had good reason to be the most anxious to return since a "hership" had already been committed on his lands, when a considerable number of horses along with goods of various kinds had been stolen.⁸ To allay the fears of Caithness, a letter was sent on February 1st by the Committee to Lord M'Donald, reminding him that when the various noblemen of Perth with the Host had been summoned, he, "as having the trust of the securities of the hielandes" had been required to do his utmost to repress all acts of robbery or violence

⁵ The Earl of Wigtown at the Council meeting of 31st January, pleading "necessar business at Edinburgh wherein he is much concerned," had asked permission to withdraw from the work of the Committee for a few days, a request which was granted (*Register Privy Council*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 337).

⁶ The Earl of Moray had been elected president at Glasgow (*Ibid.* p. 516).

⁷ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix vi. p. 163.

⁸ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 518.

that might occur during their absence. Telling him of their information concerning the raid upon the property of the Earl of Caithness, the Committee asked him to consider "how much it concernes his majesties service that those present called by his authority to serve him in which they have given so ready obedience should be protected in their absence," and bade him take immediate action against those who had committed this theft. The freebooters were to be sought out and forced to surrender the stolen property which was then to be restored to the lawful owners with due payment for loss or damage. M'Donald was further warned that if this were not done, the Committee would so report his remissness to the Privy Council that the value of the stolen property would be retained "out of the first and readiest" of his "pension." He was accordingly requested to render with all speed to the injured Earl of Caithness an account of his "diligence and obedience," since it would be impossible to continue with the work in the West if such things were to happen in the Highlanders' own country, particularly if they had no certain knowledge that the perpetrators of the deed would be punished and the loss made good.⁹

The Earl of Perth followed up his letter to the Duke of Hamilton by a visit in person, for on 2nd February, the latter writes to the Earl of Queensberry telling him that Perth had visited him "but there passed nothing more of consequence more then you know." The gentlemen of Lanarkshire had met as enjoined by the Committee, but only two, "Hags and Walstain" had taken the Bond. "The rest desired to consider it till this day, and then they did not meet so fully, and yett no more wold take it but desired a new delay till Teusday; wherupon I tooke instru-

⁹ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 518.

ments of my dilligence in offering it, so wee parted." Those who had the Highlanders quartered upon them, Hamilton adds, were making "sad and greivous complaints"—a matter of peculiar grief to Hamilton, to whom his afflicted tenantry were now looking in vain for some abatement of their woes.¹⁰ The Committee of the West, however, were now on the point of leaving Glasgow, much satisfied with a communication just received from the Privy Council approving of all their actions, and expressing the hope "that the prudent care, zeal and resolution which you have shown in these places will soon reduce them to ther deuty without any considerable trouble to the king, which wee very earnestly desire." The Council also now undertook to procure payment from the Lords of the Treasury for the thousand pairs of shoes provided for the Militia and Highlanders, and asked that a full account of all the proceedings of the Committee should be rendered from time to time.¹

Up to the date of their setting out for Ayr the total result of the work of the Host had been to force upon the people of the shires the attitude of passive resistance. The people of Lanarkshire had been thoroughly awed by the presence of the soldiery, at whose hands they had suffered much injustice and indignity, and were therefore both willing and anxious to conciliate their rulers in any way that did not involve the taking of the hated Bond. The Duke of Hamilton, writing on the 8th February to the Earl of Queensberry, puts the situation thus: "All the account I can ad to my last of what has been done in this shire is that the Earl of Carnwath and some few gentlemen and

¹⁰ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XV.*, Appendix viii. p. 233.

¹ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, February 3rd, 1678, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 337.

pittie feuers has taken the Bond since, and many of the burgeses of Glasgow." Then, stating the attitude of those who have conscientious scruples against the signing of the Bond, he goes on: "But I hope the refusing of itt will be made no test of loyalty, for I am sure there is that has refused it, has and will be as ready to venter their lives and fortunes in the King's service and mentinance of the laws as any that has taken itt. And tho all have not the like freedom to take bonds they think not warranted by law, tho by itt they might save them selves and interrest from present trouble; yett in chirritie I hope they may expect not to be so severly dealt with, as it seams your gentlemen warrands you to offer to the councill, for securring the refuissers, which I thinke no good preprative, and I beleive is more nor was desired from you." Queensberry had evidently offered to keep his arms for Hamilton should he be compelled to surrender them in the course of the general disarming of Lanarkshire. Hamilton, however, writes: "If I be not able to presairue my arms my self, I do not resolve to trouble any friend to keep them for me. However, I thanke you kindly for the offer, and shall waite on you att Edinburgh as soon as I am able." The letter concludes with a request that Queensberry should hasten to Edinburgh, since there he might be able both to right himself and help his friends.²

Queensberry had already, on 6th February, written to Hamilton, telling him that he had presented the Bond to the heritors of Dumfriesshire, whom he had met at Thorny Hill, ten miles from Dumfries, on February 4th.³ Influenced by the promise that should the Bond be signed, the Committee, with their attendant Highlanders, would not

² *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XV.*, Appendix viii. pp. 233-4.

³ *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 400, No. 211.

march as far as Dumfries,⁴ all the heritors had subscribed their names "sav some few pitifull persons inconsiderable both as to parts and interest, and thes didn't poseteivly declyn't bot desyrt tym to think off itt which I coudn't grant." Like Hamilton, he was in correspondence with the Marquis of Atholl and the Earl of Perth, who, he trusted, would do all that was possible to save the district from the quartering of the troops. He was determined, however, that his lands should not suffer on account of a few malcontents, and would, if necessary, secure or otherwise dispose of "thes pitiful persons," although he hoped that extreme measures would not be necessary except in a few cases, since the fact that the Highlanders were so near had struck such terror to the hearts of his people that they were willing to do all that the government might ask, whatever might be their inward conviction. "Sutch is the greatt terror," he writes, "the Hylanders and methods now taikn occasions hear that the whoill tennentrie offers what can bee desyrt tho I'm sheur nather they nor many off ther masters desyn performance. . . . My tennents ar within twenty who refeus to sygne and thes beggers, for whois cause I fynd it hard the rest, and my whoill interest suffer, so had ordert presently, to seceur what they had for my bygon rent and turn them off my land or putt them in prisson." What astonished him most concerning these people who refused was that most of them were "Annan-dale peopell and knou no moir off religion or civell deportment then bruts." Queensberry himself, although he had not as yet signed the Bond, intended to do so "in a competent time," the fact of the matter being, as he explained, that neither he nor any of his people saw any reason why they should suffer "for a principle they never owned,"

⁴ *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 400, No. 211.

and that the ruling factor with them was their determination to prevent, if at all possible, the quartering of the troops upon them.⁵

Replying now to what he called Hamilton's "piquish letter" of the 8th, Queensberry told him that he did not deny that those who had refused the Bond might be as loyal as those who had taken it, but that at the same time he maintained that those who had signed it were as honest as those who had refused it. Those of his district, for example, had signed the Bond almost to a man, and Hamilton, who had himself said that if his tenantry would do the like he would not decline it, could not condemn them. He himself, he continued, was not unaware of "the snaurs desygnt by the boind and in hou far presing off itt may bee considert a streatch upon the lau bott present ruein is terrible to some, and I'm convinc't thes who have volentarily offered them selves to pres ws to itt wood nott declyn to sygn itt iff we were in ther place, tho some of them advys ws otherwys. Its treu I coud stopt this countrey from taiking't bott I'm sheur my hazard wes greate and obvious and our advantadg noin at all, so fynding thes off greatest concern reddy to doo itt I thought hard the least pretence off bringing thes barbers (the Highland Host) to this place shoold be left, wpon which account I was content they shoold offer by the melitia or otherwys to dispois of the refeusers"—who, after all, amounted to a very small number. He further asserted that the fact that those of his district had responded so readily to the demands of the Committee had not been at all pleasing to that body since, whether with reason or without reason, he believed that "the ruin of his interest" was designed. Meanwhile, he was doing his best to learn the intentions of the leaders of the Host, since it

⁵ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI., Appendix vi. p. 159.*

had been reported to him that their intention was to march the Highlanders to Teviotdale and Galloway through his estates. He repudiated any suggestion of his having made his peace with Lauderdale. "I am nott under tearms off capitulation with any off that partie, nor hav I moir assurance then thes four years past, and iff yuir Grace judg fitt to seceur yourself withoutt regard to me I shall not repyn, bott on the contrair bee weall satisfyt with yuir good forton and submitt to the worst can befall myself." ⁶

In reply to this letter Hamilton wrote that from what Queensberry had told him he was much inclined to believe with him that, by complying so readily with the demands of the Committee and inducing his tenantry to follow his example, he had disappointed his enemies, a fact which gave him great satisfaction. At the same time, he would not have Queensberry forget that "he did not stand alone as the object of malicious designs, thaire malice is as much against others as against you, and our interrests are considerable to us as others are to them." Meanwhile, he concluded, "on all occasions you shall never have any reason to complean ather of the uneasines or unfixednes of my friendship, which few hitherto has had occasion to do, whatever be my other faults." ⁷

The men of Lanarkshire had proved more stubborn than those of Dumfriesshire in their resistance to the Government, but this was not because coercion had not been brought to bear upon them. The town of Lanark, in particular, had suffered in a fashion exceeding the hardships to which the troubled times had accustomed men; "Lanark being a place looked upon as disaffected to the Government, was continually upon all occasions paistred

⁶ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix vi. pp. 159, 160.

⁷ *Ibid. Report XV.*, Appendix viii. 234.

with soldiers by transient and locall quarterings, so that many tymes the whol houssis were filled, so that the poor people had not the freedom to follow their employments." ⁸ The citizens had more to complain of, as a rule, than the mere fact that they had to provide free quarters. In the Burgh Records it is put down as a usual occurrence that "ordinarlie the horse quartered upon the place have in all seasons of the yeir destroyed their victuall and grass, and quhen the barn yards failed, they have broken the barns and taken the threshitt victuall quherof they have brok 8 or 9 in one night, and the persons damnified could have no reparation." ⁹

The particular circumstances attending the quartering in Lanark of the soldiers of the Host were recorded in "Ane short accompt of the extraordinary sufferings of the Burgh of Lanerk," ¹⁰ an extract from which is quoted in the Burgh Records to the effect that "the most pairt of the earle of Strathmoirs regiment was quartered in Lanark the spece of 21 dayes, wheir by oppression they exacted of the inhabitants of free and dry quarteris, the soun of 3544 pound, quherof ther is an particular accompt yet extant, and this besyde the demolishing of the tolbooth and other houssis in the toune and quhat they robed." ¹ It is small matter for wonder, in the light of this, that Queensberry's tenants were resolved that the Council should not be left with any reason for quartering the Highlanders upon them, or that Sir George Rawdon should write from Ireland to Viscount Conway, "I suppose particular intelligence comes to London of the proceedings of the Comittee of Councill

⁸ *Burgh Records of Lanark*, p. 229.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 229.

¹⁰ In response to an enquiry, James Annan, Esq., Town Clerk of Lanark, states that this particular account is not now extant.

¹ *Burgh Records, Lanark*, p. 229.

in ye western parts and the Hyland forces and others joined with them and that they are upon free quarter and handle the disaffected with severity, wch has putt a terror into our neighbours on this side that I have lesse doubt than formerly of their ill neighbourhood.”²

The Committee, indeed, were already so well satisfied with the effect produced by the Highlanders, that even before the Host left Glasgow it had been determined that there was no need to bring over troops from Ireland. On February 2nd, Sir George Rawdon, writing to Viscount Conway, told him that “the six troops of this brigade are ordered to goo away hence and march to their former quarters, but the foot stay still in these parts.”³ In case there should be any rising in North Ireland, however, on the part of those who sympathised with the Presbyterians of the West of Scotland, orders had been given early in February for the revival of the militia of the counties of Ireland, a body which had so long been defunct, that they had lost “all or most of their arms.”⁴ At the same time, the garrisons in all the sea-ports of Northern Ireland were considerably strengthened, lest any attempt should be made to aid the men of the Western shires in a rising against their oppressors.⁵ These matters being thus settled, the Committee transferred the headquarters of the Host to Ayr, where, on the 8th February, a letter was received from the Privy Council with the order, that in accordance with the instructions already sent, they should now proceed to the disarming of the shires. As a very pertinent addition to this letter the Council advised strongly that no proposals should be entertained suggesting the arming of any private persons or body of persons ‘upon pretence of securing the

² *S.P. Ireland*, vol. 338, No. 143.

³ *S.P. Ireland*, vol. 338, No. 140.

⁴ *Ibid.* No. 141.

⁵ *Ibid.* No. 140.

place.' The appointment of Captain Dundas to be 'general quartermaster,' with pay at the rate of twelve shillings sterling a day, was also approved by the Council. The Committee, on the same day, extended the Major-General's warrant for quartering the troops on the march to Ayr and in Ayr. He was now empowered "to continou the quartering of ye forces in the paireshes and places where they are at present, or to alter, change, and inlarge their quarters to any partes or places and at such tymes as he shall judge most fitt and convenient untill the Committy give further orders anent the same." ⁶

The Committee had, on the 7th February, ordered the Earl of Cassilis to destroy several meeting-houses in the Baylery of Carrick, and rase them to the ground.⁷ Cassilis had, in obedience to the summons, been present at the meeting of the Committee at Glasgow on January 20th; on the 29th of the same month he had, as bailiff principal of Carrick, been ordered to collect all arms within his district "as muskets, pistols, swords, pikes, and halberds, Lochaber axes, dirks, and whingers," it being laid down that those who refused to surrender their weapons were to have the troops quartered on them. He had obeyed the Committee on all points, and had duly given in an account of his proceedings to the Committee at Ayr on 7th February, when he received this further order to demolish the meeting-houses of Carrick, and to make exact enquiry concerning the names of those who had built them and those who had given the sites. This the Earl proceeded somewhat reluctantly to do, since, as he complained, "the Lords would not allow him any of the standing forces, nor the gentlemen, his friends, to go armed to assist him." He had scarcely

⁶ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 521.

⁷ *Ibid.* vol. v. (Third Series) p. 520.

executed this commission when a new warrant was issued, enjoining him to bring back the timbers of the demolished meeting-houses to the places where they had stood, and to burn them there, so that the people of the various districts where these rude chapels had been situated might not, through their demolition, acquire a stock of firewood.

All these orders the Earl duly executed.⁸ The next command of the Committee soon reached him; on February 9th, by letters sent from Ayr, he was ordered to publish on the next Sabbath day, at the market cross of Maybole and at all the parish church doors in his Baylery, a proclamation requiring all heritors, liferenters, and others of the Baylery to appear before the Lords of the Committee at Ayr on the 22nd, to subscribe such bonds as should be appointed. In spite of the fact, however, that the Earl at once complied with this demand, and issued the proclamation as required, 1500 men were sent, on 10th February, into his district of Carrick and took up free quarters there, most of them indeed, being billeted upon the estate of the Earl himself, the result being, as he complained, that "not onely free quarter, but dry quarter, plunder, and other exactions, with many insolencies and cruelties, too tedious and lamentable to report were committed."⁹

These facts were the basis of a complaint made subsequently by the Earl of Cassilis to the King, which brought

⁸ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) pp. 353, 366, 420, 421.

In "A true information of the Committee of his Majesteis Privy Council mett in the West their procedur against the Earle of Cassilis" (*Ibid.* pp. 429-432, quoted also *Wodrow*, vol. ii. pp. 440, 441), it is asserted that the duties thus enjoined were not carried out by the Earl himself, but by the country people, "Who, hearing it was ordered by the committee, knew well it would be done however, and so prevented the earl, and demolished the same."

⁹ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) pp. 420-422, 587. *Historical MSS. Commission, Report X.*, Appendix vi. pp. 183-4 (The case of the Earl of Cassilis), quoted also in *Wodrow*, vol. ii. pp. 435-436.

a very vigorous defence of their position from the Committee,¹⁰ who maintained that at the time they had good reason to believe that the people of Carrick were in a state bordering on rebellion, that the Earl himself, the principal man in the district, had by his reluctant performance of his duties, been by no means an example to his people, and that it was most necessary to destroy all meeting-places of conventicles, since "there were far more armed men assembled in them almost weekly than could be represented by almost thrice the number of the standing forces."¹ All Cassilis' complaints as to the insolence and exactions of the forces, the Committee dismissed by denying all knowledge of any outrage, and by stating that no complaint reached them, or, so far as they knew, any of their officers—a statement that does not bear out the facts.²

Meanwhile, the Committee had not been idle in dealing with other parts of the suspected districts. On February 8th, the Earl of Nithsdale, steward principal of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, appeared before the Committee of the West at Ayr, and excused himself for non-compliance with the order to appear before the Committee at Glasgow upon the 26th January, on the ground that the letter sent to him by the Council miscarried—an excuse which was accepted. At the same time, he was ordered to present the Bond to the heritors and other responsible persons within the shire of Kirkcudbright, and to disarm the shire. As in the case

¹⁰ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) pp. 429-432. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. pp. 438, 439, 440, 441, 442.

¹ Wodrow denies this assertion thus: "People who were at these meetings smile at this bugbear the managers and prelates, from conscience of guilt, form to themselves. Till some years after this, there were very few armed at conventicles." At the same time, subsequent events showed the fears of the Committee not to have been without foundation (*Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 440).

² *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) pp. 429-432. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. pp. 438, 439, 440, 441, 442.

of the other shires, all were to be disarmed except the gentlemen of quality, who were given permission to retain their swords. Orders were at the same time given for the demolition of a meeting-house in Kirkcudbright, Nithsdale at the same time being requested to give in a declaration upon oath concerning the arms taken from the people of that shire.³

On February 9th, the Committee again met under the presidency of the Earl of Glencairn. At this meeting, information was given by the Major-General against John Muir, late provost of Ayr, "for several conventicles and other great disorders"; Muir, it was alleged, had tacitly acknowledged his guilt by making his escape, and Linlithgow had, accordingly, placed sentries on a certain ship, the "James" of Ayr, on which the fugitive was said to have embarked some of his goods. The Committee endorsed the general's orders as to guarding the ship and ordered that it should be kept under constant observation, at the same time thanking him for his great care in an affair which they seemed to consider one of some importance.⁴ On the same day, an Act was published by the Committee, commanding all heritors and responsible persons in the shire of Ayr to appear before them, "to take the bond for the securing the peace and quiet of the country, and preserving the same from disorders hereafter."⁵ At this sederunt, the Committee passed another Act forbidding "any of the forces, militia or hielandmen to trouble or molest the persons or

³ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 522.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. v. (Third Series) p. 523.

⁵ *Ibid.* vol. v. (Third Series) p. 524.

The parishes mentioned are Monkton, Craigie, Riccartoun, Auchinleck, Barnwell, Dalrymple, Symington, Muirkirk, Mauchlin, Old and New Tarbolton, Corltoun, Cumnock, Old and New Ochiltree, Dalmellington, Dundonald, St. Quivox, and Galstoun (*Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 407).

goodes of any of the officers belonging to the new port of Glasgow or any of the goods belonging to that office (the Custom House), as they will be answerable at their highest perill, with power to the said officers, if need be, to call any person to their assistance upon any injury done or offered to them.”⁶ A similar Act was passed concerning the Custom House of Irvine, it being added that the Committee “doe grant license and warrand to the sd officers of customs of that burgh to have, keep and wear their arms as formerly in ye exercise of their duty and charge.”⁷ It was further enacted concerning the city of Glasgow, that the Lords of the Committee, understanding that a great number of persons there had refused to sign the Bond, now gave order and warrant to the magistrates of the burgh to quarter all troops entering Glasgow upon those who had refused to obey the authorities, these citizens who had taken the Bond being as far as possible freed from this duty.⁸

From Ayr, on 10th February, the Committee despatched a letter to the Privy Council announcing the issuing of the Proclamation to the inhabitants of Ayrshire, and stating that they intended to spend the ensuing week in disarming the people, the officers in command of troops in each district to be disarmed having been ordered to assist the sheriff or bailie deputed in each parish to perform this work.⁹ This letter concludes with a commendation to Lauderdale and the Council of “the major general, his prudent care and indefatigable labour and paines in the management of that trust wherewithe his majestie hes been pleased to honour him, which deserves the Councill’s speciall consideration and thanks.”¹⁰ The last matter considered by the Com-

⁶ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 525.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 345, 346.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

mittee at this sederunt was that of the detention of the ship "James" of Ayr, on which sentries had been placed on account of her supposed connection with Provost Muir. It had now been ascertained that the vessel was not owned even in part by him and that he had no goods on her; under these circumstances, the Committee acceded to a petition which had reached them, and allowed the vessel to sail for the Plantations, whither she was bound.¹

Thus far the work of the Host had proceeded without any sign of that rebellion which had been feared. The Highlanders had acted according to their traditions for the most part, bearing themselves rudely towards those upon whom they were quartered and exacting all they could by way of money and provisions from the people, pillaging and destroying wherever they went,² but the people had borne patiently all indignities and oppressions. The Committee, nevertheless, were naturally on the alert for any sign of rebellion among men whom they must have known to be exasperated almost beyond measure. It was not long before the expected announcement of revolt was made. On February 12th, information was brought to the leaders of the Host that such a rising as had been anticipated was in progress, a body of men in arms having assembled on Fenwick Moor. Orders were therefore issued to the Major-General to take such portion of the Guards or other forces under his command as he should think fit, and march against these rebels, his instructions being to "dissipat them by force of arms if they shall offer to make any opposi-

¹ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, February 10th, 1678, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 528.

² *S.P. Dom.*, vol. 401, No. 189.

Sir C. Musgrave to Williamson, "Wherever the Highlanders come, they destroy all."

tion or resistance, and to pursue them to the death, kill and destroy." ³

Partly in connection with this expedition and partly for the general use of the Host, Linlithgow was at the same time recommended to seize upon horses "for the kinges service in carying men and ammunition." From the parish of Ayr and Alloway, he was to take forty horses, from St. Quivox, thirty, from Monkton, forty, from Culton, fifty, and from Dalrymple forty. If, however, horses could not be obtained from these parishes, without unnecessary loss of time, the general was empowered to seize horses wherever they could be found.⁴ Duly prepared and equipped, therefore, to meet a formidable enemy, a small field force of some eight hundred men, under the command of Lord Ross, set out without delay to quell the reported rising. In a few days, however, Ross had to return without having discovered a trace of an enemy. Fearful, however, lest the whole matter should be wrongly reported to the Privy Council and thereupon be misconstrued by them, the Committee decided to send a full account of the affair to the Duke of Lauderdale. This was accordingly done in the following letter despatched to him on February 15th:

"May it please your Grace,

"Upon the 12th instant in the forenoon, information being given of some men in armes in the muir betwixt Phinnick and Egleshem, upon the Fryday and the Saterdag before, the committee immediately gave orders to the major-generall to appoint such a number of horse and foot as he should thing fitt to march to that place, who accordingly ordered a comanded party of his m^a regiment of guardes,

³ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, February 12th, 1678, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 528.

⁴ *Ibid.*

thrie hundred of the marquis of Atholl's men, two hundred of the Earl of Marrs, (as being nearest to that place), and some of ther horse and Perthshyre gentlemen to march under the command of the Lord Rosse, lieutennant collonel to the said regiment, to the forsed place. Who instantly marched, and having in thrie days returned, did report to us that they, haveing traversed the countrey in all places suspect, could have no information of any men that had been or were in armes or the least appearance of any insurrection, and, least any misreport should aryse herefrom, we thought it our duty by this expresse to give this accompt."

Continuing, the letter informed the Duke and his council that the various parishes had been disarmed on the days fixed by proclamation, Ayr being the last dealt with. The people of each parish had been summoned to the parish church, where each man affirmed upon oath that he had not withheld any weapon. The arms, of which there was a considerable number, this being especially true of firearms, had been sent from the various parishes to Ayr, whence they were to be conveyed, as arranged in connection with the other weapons already seized, to Dumbarton Castle.⁵ The same meeting of Committee that sent this letter to Lauderdale decided that all gentlemen in the shires who had not signed the Bond were to put away any horse they possessed worth more than fifty pounds Scots, the penalty for noncompliance with the order to be fixed at a hundred pounds Scots,⁶ this measure being deemed necessary, since a horse was "still accounted among the arms and instruments of war."⁷

⁵ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 353.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 354. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 410. *Historical MSS. Commission, Report X.*, Appendix vi. p. 134.

⁷ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 439.

A letter, dated 20th February, 1678, written probably by John, Lord Murray, to the Marchioness of Atholl, from Ayr, and addressed 'For my Lady,' gives a glimpse of the situation in Ayr and the surrounding country at this time. The writer says: "On Monday, the 18th . . . we came to Aire about 3 o'clock. My father went to the Committee wher ther was little done for all the express. Its impossible to tell when we shall returne, for the Councell themselves knowes not till the Councell at Edenburgh sends them orders. Everybody thinkes it will be about a fortnight. All are extreame weary here, many of the Perthshire gentlemen are going home without liberty, the bearer of this, Fullertone, sayes he will be quite undone if he does not go—I cannot think of anything more to tell you only they say that within 5 or 6 dayes there will not bee a bitt meate in the town, its beginning to grow scarce already. The reason is, the country people dare bring nothing to the town, for feare of Mar's and Caithnes men, who will intercept it, so they choose rather to eat it themselves, but I belive we will soon change our quarters, so then there will be no want. We have just done dinner. My Lord Marr and Glencairnie and Caithness has been dining with my father, who, God be thanked, keeps his health very well—None that dwells in the West dare keep a hors abov 50 pounds Scots, after the first of March."⁸

This desire of the Highland lords to return home, thus mentioned by Lord Murray, had already been the subject of discussion in the Privy Council. In this connection, the Earl of Perth, who was still in communication with Hamilton, wrote to him on 15th February, telling him of a meeting of the Privy Council to consider "what to doe with the desire of these Lords to be dismist, and what

⁸ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XII., Appendix viii. p. 34.*

certification to appoint against the refusers of the Bond." The general opinion among those most capable of judging the situation was that the Highlanders would soon be permitted to go home, and that their place in the Host would be taken by the Militia of the Lothians. With regard to the treatment of those who still refused the Bond, Perth stated the Council to have finally resolved on "a charge of horning for lawburrows at the king's instance." They had also decided to disarm every man, irrespective of rank, in the disaffected districts—a decision arrived at, according to Perth, only after a heated discussion between Lauderdale and Rothes. "Your Grace (Hamilton)," Perth writes, "was named on that occasion and particularly resolved to be so treated. Lord Chancellor (Rothes) took occasion of your being named, to speak somewhat home against it, said it was the mark of the beast, so to say, for that the usurpers had practised it, and told them that for their owne sakes they ought not to doe any such thing, and saied to Duke Lauderdale that for his owne sake he ought not to suffer so strange a practise as to disarm a Duke, without laying to his charge any sort of crime. To which they say Duke Lauderdale returned some unmannerly answer, like himself, which occasioned some heate there, and that Duke Lauderdale followed him (Rothes) over to his owne house, and that there wer very warme words betwixt them there. Each of them upbraided other as the cawser of disorders in the country. I have not been able to gett the particularities of the story from Lord Chancellor." Perth follows this up by a highly significant passage, in which he suggests that Lauderdale was throughout acting contrary to the general wish of his Council. "He (the Chancellor), hath been very ill to-day, and I was all this evening, till ten at night, engaged in talking, first,

with Sir G. McKenzie, and after with the Archbishop of St. Andrewes, with both of whom I raked up all our present affaires roundly, and both sweare they have no accessione to these courses, and sayes, God knowes, ill enough both of the things and their actors. But there is not on singl Councillor other wayes, and yet all goes on." There was much popular sympathy, apparently, with Hamilton, "When your Grace comes to towne and has your sword taken from you, I find few honest men but say that if Duke Hamiltone be put to walk without his sword they will even lay aside theirs and beare him company." ⁹

In spite of all coercive measures, however, the great majority of the people would neither rise in arms against their oppressors and so enable the Government to use their expeditionary force in actual warfare, nor would they sign the Bond. On 20th February, the Committee took steps to still further harass those who had refused to take the Bond, by giving warrant to the major-general "to remove any of the forces off the ground and landes of such as have taken or shall take the Bond and to quarter them in such uthr places as he shall think fitt." ¹⁰ It was commonly said among the people of the shires, however, that the Highlanders in oppressing and plundering, and in quartering themselves upon the people, made no nice distinctions between those who had and those who had not signed the Bond, of the very nature of which, in all probability, the great majority of the clansmen were in ignorance.¹ Among those in higher circles, again, it was a common report that, in apportioning billets to the troops, Lauderdale and his friends often took occasion to gratify private spite and

⁹ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix vi. pp. 163-164.

¹⁰ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, February 20th, 1678.

¹ *Kirkton*, pp. 386, 387.

animosity, since, in many cases, those suffered greatly who had not been guilty of attendance at any field conventicles, while many who were most guilty, were spared on account of friendship with someone in authority.²

The rapacity of the Highlanders, however, was now satisfied. They had already been on service for nearly forty days, and with most of them the ruling desire was to get safely home with the spoils already gathered from the Whigs. The Council had already come to the conclusion that the time for the northward march was at hand and had written to the Committee that being desirous of making the service as easy as possible for the nobles who had organised the expedition to the West, they were content that so soon as the shires of Ayr, Lanark and Renfrew had been subdued, all the Highlanders should be sent home except five hundred to be selected from those who were least likely to be of service in their own country 'from their labour and industry.'³ The Committee, therefore, wrote to the Council on 23rd February with regard to the prevailing temper of their men. "Upon consideration of that part of the Council's letter relating to the highlanders, the lords who command them declared to the committee that it was impossible for them to keep out their men any longer, it being now near forty days since they came from home, but have resolved they will keep out five hundred of their men for his maties service." The Perthshire gentlemen, the Marquis of Atholl and Earl of Perth represented to be also anxious to return home, if they could do so with the consent and approbation of the Privy Council. It was stated to the Council that if these troops were withdrawn, there would remain on service in the shires only 2500 foot

² *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix iv. p. 31.

³ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 355.

and some 300 horse, including the regiment of foot guards and troop of horse guards.⁴ Since, however, the Committee were by no means of opinion that the time had come to denude the country of troops, they suggested that some troops should be stationed in garrisons throughout the disaffected districts, not only to ensure the peace of the shires, but also, should necessity arise, to be at hand as an effective fighting instrument at the disposal of the Council. In this connection, the Committee asked the Council to reconsider their instructions regarding the placing of garrisons in houses "that wee may be more fully instructed ther anent and if ther maintenance, pottes, pannes, bedding, coall and candle be comprehendit under the general word of necessars."⁵

On this day, 23rd February, both the Earl of Cassilis and the Earl of Nithsdale had appeared before the Committee. The Earl of Cassilis reported his execution of the orders of the Committee, two meeting-places in Carrick having been burned down, and was now given till the 28th to give in a list of the persons who had been guilty of building them or who had been accessories to the deed. Nithsdale, in his turn, reported upon those who had signed the Bond within the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

It had now been decided that a considerable portion of the clansmen should be allowed to return home. The Committee, therefore, now proceeded to deliberate as to which of the Highlanders should remain on service. Finally it was decided that Atholl, Mar, Perth and Caithness should together keep out 500 men, 200 of whom were to be Atholl's Highlanders, 200 Caithness' men from Glenorchy, 50 from the territories of Mar, and 50 from those of

⁴ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 366.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Perth. These were to be left under the command of such officers as should be decided upon by the various noblemen concerned, the major-general being empowered to appoint an officer to command the whole number thus left behind.⁶ Although the Highlanders had now been for some considerable time on service, they were not yet all equipped to the satisfaction of their leaders. On 25th February, therefore, the Committee, presumably to some extent in view of the approaching long march home, took steps to see that all the Highlanders were sufficiently well shod, James Campbell, Provost of Glasgow, being ordered to deliver as soon as possible, a portion of the shoes that had already been made for the use of the troops. To the Earl of Moray, the Earl of Caithness, and the Marquis of Atholl, he was to deliver "eleven score pair of shoes," while to the Earl of Perth, he was to deliver "thrie score pair."

A portion of the force was thus about to be dismissed, but the Lords of the Committee felt that their task was by no means accomplished and that they were very far from being in a position to relax their efforts to reduce the people of the West to submission. On the 27th February, therefore, the Committee proceeded to take steps with regard to enforcing the Bond in Irvine, Glasgow and Stirling. To the people of Irvine it was intimated that only those who should sign the Bond would be recognised as Magistrates by the Council; if such men could not be found, the town would lose its privileges as a burgh. The bailies of Glasgow, all of whom had taken the Bond, were ordered to cease to recognise as burgesses of the town or members of trade guilds any who had not signed it; they were also to dismiss from the Town Council any who refused the Bond.

⁶ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, February 23rd, 1678, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 547.

A like message was sent to the magistrates and council of Stirling.⁷

In spite of all repressive measures, however, the people still held out. The Committee, indeed, had discovered that many of the people of Ayrshire had retained their arms, and on 28th February gave the major-general powers to search for arms wherever he thought they lay hid, and to seize them.⁸ In obeying these orders, the soldiers made no distinction between the house of the noble and that of the peasant. Thus Sir C. Musgrave writes on February 28th to Williamson: "Duke Hambleton was sent ffor by ye Committee . . . and they searched his house ffor armes, and tooke away all but a little sword ffor himself to walk with." ⁹

The knowledge that the people of Ayrshire were still possessed of arms seems to have caused the regular clergy in the West to fear that their safety was assured only by the presence of the Highlanders, and that, unless sufficient forces were left to garrison the country, they would have to leave their charges. The fact that the people had good reason to believe that much of what had befallen them had been done at the instance of the bishops, justifies one in considering their fears not ill-founded.¹⁰ Towards the end of February, the clergymen of Ayrshire, seeing the preparations for the homegoing of the Highlanders, embodied their views and suggestions in a letter written to the Archbishop of Glasgow. They gave their "humble opinion of the present tymes" at some length, saying that the leading men of the district should be brought back from Edinburgh,

⁷ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 411.

⁸ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 551.

⁹ *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 401, No. 189.

¹⁰ *Lauderdale Papers*, edited by Airy, vol. iii. p. 95.

where they expected to find refuge, and should be severely dealt with, since only thus would the common folks, who were entirely led by these gentlemen, be brought to conformity. They were likewise of opinion that the indulged ministers should either be "stinted of their liberty, or absolutely laid aside," since they were the chief source of all disorder and disaffection. Finally, they gave it as their view of the situation that the garrisons in the district were too few and weak, and that they ought to be strengthened by 200 men left in garrison at Ayr.¹

This letter had the effect desired by its authors. The Council, on 1st March, wrote to the Committee: "As to the garrisons, we consider it will be necessar to have some in the sheriffdom of Air and jurisdiction therein when you goe from these places, but the numbers, persons and places are left to you as being upon the place, and it is our opinion that you provyd pottes, pannes, and all necessars, by commanding the commissioners of the militia and excyse to provyd as they shall be answerable, which wee think the shyre ought to provyd since they refused to serve the shire when invited therto by his majesty and his privy council, and since his majesty has therupon allowed us to doe every thyng necessar for serving the peace in these shyres, and when they live regularly his majesty will ease them accordingly. If you make use of any of the kinges regiment they need no pay, having the kinges pay."

Having thus provided for garrisons as desired, the Council proceeded to arrange for troops to take the place of the Highlanders. "Wee weill approve of the hielanders returning, having left 500 of their number," they wrote, "and wee are content the gentlemen of perth also return

¹ *Register Privy Council*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 369. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 411. *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix vi. p. 157.

home, to whom wee return our hearty thanks in his ma. name for therr zeall at this important occasion, and to supply such as are gone and goe wee have sent you the regiment of foot of Midlothian, and the troupe of Linlithgow and Peebles. Wee have ordered that the troop and regiment of Stirlingshyre be dismyst, the dayes of stay being expyred." ²

The further suggestions of the clergy were carried into effect on March 7th, when the Privy Council issued a proclamation requiring all gentlemen and heritors, etc. having residence within the shires of Ayr, Renfrew, and Lanark, to return to these shires within three days. The bishops, however, were not yet satisfied; as if to prove to the utmost their deep share in all the work of the Highland Host, they determined to anticipate any of the outraged nobility and gentry of the western shires in gaining the ear of the King, and early in March sent the Archbishop of Glasgow to London with a memorial on their behalf drawn up by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, in which they stated that the danger to which they were exposed in Scotland had driven them to address him thus and to offer to his "princelie consideration how inconsistent are the violent and irregular courses of these who rend the church and persecute vs for no other reason but that of our absolute and entyre dependance upon your Majestie and our sincere endeavors to keep the people in a dutiful obedience to your Majestie's authoritie." ³

In accordance with the arrangements made by the Council, the Highlanders from Perthshire and Aberdeen-

² *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, March 1st, 1678, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 369.

³ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix vi. p. 158. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 412.

shire left early in March, leaving behind them from north of the Forth only the Angus Militia, both horse and foot, the foot regiment and one troop of horse being left under Strathmore, the other troop of horse under Airlie.⁴ The horse and foot Militia regiments from the Lothians were on the march towards Glasgow, however, so that the military hold of the country was in nowise relaxed. Neither did it seem that the people of the West could hope for more consideration from the Lowland soldiery than they had experienced at the hands of the Highlanders, since the reports of those who had witnessed the conduct of the Militia upon their embodiment were far from reassuring. The officers, it was said, had determined to act honestly towards the civil populace and to pay for everything, "but the soldiers were the very worst of men, any sober persons, who had no mind to go, put any they could get in their room."⁵

The leaders of the Host now set themselves to deliberate as to the disposal of their forces, and on March 2nd, in response to the letter received from the Council, with reference to the placing of garrisons throughout the shire of Ayr, decided that military posts must be left in some of the more important mansion houses. They therefore ordered that a garrison should be sent to Blairquhan in Carrick, another to Barskimming, and a third to Cesnock. In order that the soldiers in these places should be provided with "pottes, pannes, and uther necessars," letters were sent to the commissioners of excise demanding their attendance at a meeting summoned for the consideration of the matter. The major-general had been asked to state what

⁴ *Register Privy Council, Scotland, March 31st, 1678, vol. v. (Third Series)* p. 417.

⁵ *Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 412.*

he considered a proper number of soldiers for each of the garrisons, and now recommended that 100 foot soldiers and 20 horsemen should be sent to Barskimming, and half that number to each of the other houses.⁶ When all these arrangements had been made, the Committee, on March 4th, wrote to the Council stating that they had given directions for the establishment of the garrisons, and were taking steps to have them provided through the commissioners of excise, with various necessary utensils. They now desired the advice of the Council as to the maintenance of the troops thus placed in garrison; if the King's forces were employed, how were they to be supplied with money? Again, if other troops were used, how were they to be maintained?⁷ In the meantime, the Host had been augmented by the arrival at Glasgow of the regiment of Midlothian Militia, under command of Lieutenant-colonel Sir John Nicolson.⁸

The Committee now set themselves more seriously to the task of exacting from the shires all that was considered necessary for the maintenance in comfort of the troops under their orders. Those of the commissioners of excise who had appeared at Ayr on March 4th were directed to convene a full meeting of commissioners at Ayr on the 7th; meanwhile, they were told to provide for the soldiers to be placed in garrison, 126 beds, 24 pots, 24 pans, 240 spoons, 60 "timber dishes," 60 "timber cuppes," and 40 "timber stoupes," which were to be distributed among the detachments in proportion to the number of men in each. They were likewise to see to the due provision of "coall and candle" for the men. At the same time, it was particularly

⁶ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 375.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 554.

enjoined that no heritor who had taken the Bond was to be burdened with any part of the cost of maintaining these garrisons.⁹ Money was also required by the leaders of the Host. To raise the amount demanded, letters were sent, on March 6th, to the Collector of Customs at Glasgow and to the Lord Provost of that city by Captain Dundas, Quarter-master General of the troops in the West, with a request for the sum of 4000 merks, to be applied to the uses of the Committee: this sum was supplied to Captain Dundas on demand.¹⁰

On March 9th, the Committee received a letter from the Privy Council approving of all that had been done and particularly of the appointment of garrisons. The Council recommended that the garrisons should be made up of troops belonging to the regular forces, and that, to secure their maintenance, the Committee, in concert with the commissioners of the shire, should set a fixed price upon all necessaries for the soldiers and their horses, it being laid down, however, that coal, candles, bedding, pots and pans should be supplied without payment "as is ordinar in such cases."¹ If provisions were not brought to the garrisons daily, as should be arranged, the soldiers were empowered to seize what they required, paying for it at the fixed rate. They were, however, in all such exactions to avoid the lands of privy councillors and those who had taken the Bond.

These measures were not carried out without some degree of success. Dr. Hickey, chaplain to the Duke of Lauderdale, for example, could write on March 9th: "The work of reducing the Whigs goes well on, though they have

⁹ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol v. (Third Series) p. 555.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 558, 563.

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 379, 564, 565.

been refractory upon encouragement from some great ones. There is almost none that refuse the Bond but Duke Hamilton, his cousin, the Earl of Cassels, and the Lord Bargenny, his friend among the considerable persons.”² Hickes, however, was much more sanguine of success than those of his party actually in the West. There were still many who refused the Bond, and who proved obdurate under all manner of coercion; from these recusants the Committee proceeded to exact fines. A collector was appointed upon March 11th to receive the fines thus imposed upon delinquents, and was instructed to make payment to Captain James Maitland, the commander of the garrison at Blairquhan, of 200 pounds Scots, for the purpose of supplying that garrison with “coal and candle”; 100 pounds Scots was to be paid to each of the other commanders for the same purpose.³ The Committee were also finding the commissioners of excise refractory, since many of these men had not taken the Bond, and even those who had done so felt unwilling to actively assist in the oppression of their neighbours by furnishing supplies to the garrisons.⁴

It was in the midst of these difficulties that on March 11th the Committee wrote to the Lords of the Privy Council, stating that they had asked the Commissioners to meet them to fix upon the price of necessaries for the garrisons, but that they did not expect that these officials would agree to their proposals. They had already had two meetings with these men with regard to supplying the garrisons with bedding and cooking utensils, but the meetings had been attended by very few of the commissioners, and the few

² *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XIII.*, Appendix ii. pp. 6, 7.

³ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 565.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 389. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 416.

who did appear had refused to fall in with the wishes of the Committee. The Commissioners again failed to answer the summons of the Committee to meet on March 12th, whereupon the Committee settled the matter by fixing for themselves a scale of prices, which they declared should be the standard rate until they gave further orders on the matter.⁵

Meanwhile, as it became evident to those in authority that the men of the West were not to be coerced into signing the Bond, they became alarmed lest the ultimate result should be an exodus of the malignants from their own shires into Ireland and the North of England. Thus writing on March 3rd to Ormonde, Lord Granard says: "I expect that shoals of people from Scotland, and those not of the best principles, will land, for by what I can learn, multitudes of them (the Whigs) are so plundered by the highlanders that they have left their habitations and have not put plough in ground this year."⁶ The Committee of the West, fearful in their turn lest any of the oppressed should escape, wrote to the Privy Council, asking them to take steps to guard against any evasion of the Bond by emigration from Scotland. On receiving this communication on March 15th, the Council responded by issuing a

⁵ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, March 11th, 1678, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 568. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 416.

The prices fixed were: "Each staine of hay, two shilling; each threive of strae four shilling; the boll of oates fiftie shilling in Carrick and fyftie fyve shilling in Air; each boll of meall fyve merks; each boll of malt fyve poundes; each stone of beiff one pound ten shilling; each stone of pork one pound sextein shilling; each peck of French gray salt ten shillings; each peck of Scotts salt fyve shilling; each stone of butter two poundes eight shilling; each stone of cheise one pound four shilling; each doson of egges one shilling four penies; each pynt of milk one shilling; each hen four shilling and each mutton bouk two poundes Scottes."

⁶ *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde* (New Series), vol. iv. p. 126.

proclamation forbidding anyone to set sail for Ireland without having first procured a passport.⁷

The Committee had now established their garrisons in the disaffected districts and had set up a regular machinery of coercion against malignants. Feeling, apparently, that they themselves could now afford to withdraw to some little distance from the very centre of strife, they held their last sederunt at Irvine on March 13th, and by the 19th were again in Glasgow. A contemporary view of the situation at this date is given by Dr. Hickes, who, writing from Edinburgh on the 19th to his friend, Dr. Patrick of Westminster Abbey, gives some account of particular matters connected with the work of the Host. Those who sought to enforce the Bond saw well that their task was to be by no means easy. "The Bond is to go through the whole kingdom, and through all the Privy Council, the Judges, Advocates, and all that bear office in any courts have taken it, yet it is like to meet with great opposition, and by no other reason, but for fear the schism be quite overcome, factious men should want an engine wherewith to trouble the Church and State. You cannot well imagine with what courage and firmness, and against what discouragements and oppositions my Lord hath hitherto acted; and now the business is near a crisis, for Duke Hamilton and the Earl of Cassels will neither take the bond, nor the lawbroughs . . . so that they must be proceeded against as suspicious persons, viz., be denounced the king's rebels, or outlaws, which will make a great deal of noise both in this kingdom and yours, but yet it must be done, for that Cabal is the serpent's head. Welsh hath solemnly excommunicated all the gentlemen of the West who have taken the bond,

⁷ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series), pp. 397, 398. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 418.

which hath much offended many of them that were his followers before." ⁸

By March 21st, Hickes was convinced that matters had reached a crisis. He had learned that Major-General Drummond and Lord Melvin were already in London, complaining on behalf of the "Cabal" of oppression and arbitrary government. "This combination," he writes, "is 'Morientis bestiae ultimus conatus,' and if His Majesty hearken not to these malcontents, and fanatical patriots, but send them home, the schism is suppressed at least for an age; but if he encourages them, it will for ever be in vain to attempt anything against the schismatics here, but this Church must be swallowed up and then ours.

"I am very jealous they have underhand encouragement from England, especially from the popish party: a few days will discover the truth. Pray be vigilant and make enquiry, but tell not the contents of this letter but to special and well affected friends. I am sure they can say nothing against the proceedings of the Council unless they prevaricate, or lie, which I doubt not but they will do, having already represented as if the administration of affairs here were arbitrary and tyrannical, and as if there had been nothing in the west but burnings, murders, robberies, rapes, and all sorts of devastations, because the auxiliaries were upon free quarter there.

"Things are now come to a crisis, and my Lord must either suffer in the defence of the Church, or triumph in the suppression of this damnable schism. He hath already conquered a great deal of opposition, and I hope God will bring him through all the rest.

"There is also at London one Major Wildrum, a very

⁸ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XIII., Appendix ii. p. 48.*

ungrateful, discontented man, who, I hear, makes very unworthy representations of things here. Had I acquaintance with any one parliament man of note, I would take the pains to write to him the whole state of affairs here, and deduce the story from my Lord's first arrival to this moment; you are pretty well able to do it, especially if you have seen a certain paper, which I desired might be shewed you, and you will do good service to God and the Church, to endeavour to disabuse the world, and confute these lying reports, as much as you can." ⁹

By March 23rd, Hickes was confident that the surmise of his previous letter was correct—"I told you in my last letter," he writes, "that the heads of our faction were hasting to London to complain to the King and solicit the Parliament. We are now sure of it, for it was the result of a meeting they had here about three weeks since, and they were the more encouraged because they found the Parliament disposed to question the ministers, who advised the King to make such an answer to the Parliament last May, etc., in which they think my Lord is specially aimed at.

"Since my last, the Earl of Cassels is gone up, and they say, Duke Hamilton, and some of our fanatical lawyers will not be long behind. You may be sure the Privy Council will send some up after them to rectify the misrepresentations which they will make. And I hope the Church will send up some wise Bishop, and, if my Lord would spare me, I should be glad to come up myself. We are told here, I should have said, 'tis the report, that these men are encouraged to complain by the great Roman Catholics about the Court. I wish you would endeavour to satisfy yourself if any great person of that persuasion

⁹ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XIII.*, Appendix ii. p. 49.

favour them, for the course the Council have taken tending to the establishment of the Church, and the utter subversion of the pestilent schism. I am a little jealous the popish patriots may oppose their proceedings, though this is nothing but my own surmise. However, if His Majesty be persuaded to hearken to them, and so much as check the Council, and stop their proceedings, farewell the Church, and the royal authority for ever in the land.

“Pray also be as diligent as your time will let you be in disabusing the world, and discrediting the stories they will raise, and let me know what their chief complaints are. The service you can do us will be done for as good a cause, and in the defence of as true a friend to the Church, as ever was since the Reformation. I forgot to tell you that most of these men are either relations or correspondents of Gilbert Burnet’s, or both.”¹⁰

The scene of conflict had thus, to a certain extent, been removed from Ayrshire to the court of Charles in London. Undeterred, however, by the war of plot and counterplot now being fought out at Court between the representatives of the two parties, the Committee still continued its work in the West, where the work of establishing garrisons still occupied its attention. The house of Blairquhan had been found to be in a ruinous state and altogether unsuitable as a place for a garrison, while the Committee were also of opinion that it would be much more convenient now to have the soldiers located as near as possible to a seat of fresh disorder near the house of Kinlichin, the residence of the laird of Carleton. This being the fittest house in the district, the garrison were removed to it. As the laird had signed the Bond, however, the major-general was warned that he was to be saved all trouble and expense, and that

¹⁰ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XIII.*, Appendix ii. p. 49.

it was to be made clear to him that his house was "at this time required for the king's service," and that he was merely asked to render the State a favour.¹

At this same sederunt it was brought before the Committee that serious disorder was caused by the fact that in the houses of several gentlemen and noblemen in the West, chaplains not licensed by the Bishop, as required by law, were maintained, some of them being in attendance on children as tutors. It was accordingly resolved that this should be communicated to the Council, so that an end might be put to this state of affairs.²

Meanwhile, the main body of Highlanders were on their homeward march. They were not suffered, however, to return without molestation from the country people whom their conduct had exasperated so much. On March 22nd, the Earl of Caithness sent in a report concerning the killing of one of his Highlanders and the wounding of several others by "a multitude of people convocat in armies" at Campsie.³ The militiaman thus killed was a certain Alexander M'Gregor from Breadalbane, his assailant being one of the name of Brash, who, although made prisoner and taken for trial to Edinburgh, does not seem to have suffered punishment for the deed.⁴

The incident was thus represented by the Committee to the Privy Council: "Wee have only to represent that some of the kinges sojers under the comand of the Earle of Caithnes, being upon their way homwardes by our warrand, and being in the parish of Campsie, wee are

¹ *Register Privy Council of Scotland*, March 21st, 1678, vol. v. (Third Series) pp. 576, 577.

² *Ibid.* p. 577.

³ *Ibid.* March 22nd, 1678, p. 578.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 579, 580. *A Military History of Perthshire*, edited by Marchioness of Tullibardine, vol. i. p. 114. *Kirkton*, p. 39.

informed that some hundreds of people in that parish and ythrs adjacent did convocat themselves in armes and without any provocation did invade and assault them, killed one and wounded diverse uthrs of them, whereupon wee have appointed a citation to be direct agst those guilty of that ryot." ⁵

In the letter in which this was written to the Council, complaint was also made against a certain Mr. John Law, since the revolution one of the ministers of Edinburgh, for whom a meeting-house had been built by the heritors of this same parish of Campsie, and who had kept conventicles for several years past,⁶ while a request was also entered to the Council on behalf of the Earl of Strathmore's regiment of Angus Militia. It was represented that this regiment had now been so long on service that their shoes were quite worn out; 320 pairs of shoes had been delivered in addition to those already supplied to the Highlanders, 650 more pairs would suffice for the needs of the regiment; without them, indeed, they would not be able to march home. It was recommended that these men should be thus supplied, especially since they had been "very steadfast in their duty and the service for which they came." The Council approved of this by letter dated March 27th, and Warrant to make the shoes was given to the Provost of Glasgow on March 29th.

On March 31st, the Committee gave it as their opinion that the Earl of Strathmore's regiment of foot Militia and troop of horse, and the troop under the command of the Earl of Airlie should now be dismissed "with thanks from ye Councill," particular instructions being given them

⁵ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, March 22nd, 1678, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 408.

⁶ *Ibid.* Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 418.

regarding their homeward route and quarters on the way "which will be a preparation for ye maners of the return of y^{rs} as the y^{rs} shall have live hereafter."⁷ Meanwhile, the remaining portion of the Host, thus left in the West, formed a force sufficient to enable the Privy Council to maintain the military occupation of the disaffected country.

⁷ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 417.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE HOST.

By the end of March, 1678, the situation stood thus in the West: in the city of Glasgow, where the Host had first been quartered, the Committee had been successful in inducing the magistrates to take the Bond for themselves, the burgesses and other citizens, but were still engaged in quartering soldiers upon recusants. In the western shires the great majority of the people still maintained their attitude of passive resistance, and the garrisons were therefore still maintained among them, being transferred from district to district as occasion required. Since the situation was at length somewhat more settled, the administrative work of the Committee had consequently decreased and the Council had modified their demands upon members so far as to declare that any three of them might form a quorum, instead of five as formerly. It had now been resolved also that the services of the Angus regiment and of the Perthshire horse should be dispensed with, the Council and Committee giving letters of thanks to the Earls of Strathmore and Airlie and their officers.¹ To ensure the regi-

¹ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 417.

Letter from the Council to the Earl of Strathmore:

“My Lord, Wee very well understand your care and vigilance in bringing out the foot and troupe of horse of the heretours of Angus under your command from his Majesties service, that both were so full in their numbers and

ments an easy return home, it was decided that their route should be "by Linlithgow the first night, Inverkeithing the second, Kirkcaldy and Dysert the third night and to Dundy the fourth night, where they are to be disbanded." The Earls of Strathmore and Airlie did not accompany their regiments home, but remained on duty with the Western Committee.² This gradual withdrawal of troops from the West was due less to any alteration in the attitude of the disaffected shires towards the demands of the government than to the effect produced at Court by the deputation of Scottish nobles and gentlemen, which we have already seen mentioned in the letters of Dr. Hickes. Both parties had taken their case to headquarters, for, alarmed at the bold action of Cassilis and Hamilton, the Privy Council, on 26th March, had delegated the Earl of Moray and Lord Collington to wait upon the King, the former as having been constantly in attendance at the meetings of the Committee of the West, the latter as a trusted member of the Privy Council, so that their statements might counteract any effect caused by the representatives of the other party.³ So that all his interests in Scotland might be represented, Lauderdale, according to Dr. Hickes, had it in view to add

that you hav enow kept them so long together, for all which wee doe retorne you our hearty thanks and shall be ready at all times to give evidence of your zeale in this his Majesties service. Wee have written to our Committee to give your officers our thanks as wel als their oune. Wee are, my Lord, your very affectionat freinds, *subscribitur*, Glasgow, Lawderdale, Marshall, Aboyne, Kintore, Caithnes, Elphingstoune Ch. Maitland, Tho. Murray, Geo. Mackenzie, Tho. Wallace."

Similar letters were addressed to the Earl of Airly, commander of the Angus Horse, and to the Earl of Linlithgow, commander-in-chief.

² *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, April 3rd, 1678, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 417.

³ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 407. *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XIII.*, Appendix ii. p. 50. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. pp. 418, 442.

to his agents already in London either the Archbishop of Glasgow or the Bishop of Galloway "as an agent for the Church concerns."⁴ In the meantime, the most astonishing news item in Scotland was the defection of the Marquis of Atholl and the Earl of Perth from Lauderdale, and their union with the Duke of Hamilton and his party. Dr. Hickes, to whom this had come as a most unexpected piece of intelligence, writes of the matter to his friend Dr. Patrick on March 26th, telling him that the three noblemen in question have now left the kingdom together, "nobody knows whither, most believe to London, and from naming the two last (Atholl and Perth) you may easily imagine to what a height the faction is flown."⁵ In the course of his letter, Dr. Hickes, unfortunately, throws no light upon the sudden change of front thus shown by the two leaders of the Host, contenting himself with remarking: "Would it not take up sheets, I would acquaint you with the whole intrigue, and with the reasons of the discontents of the Marquis and the Earl."⁶

The two noblemen who had by acting thus given cause for wonder to men of all parties, had, throughout the whole period of the stay of the Host in the West, been noted among the Whigs as the most humane of the leaders of that force, and among those who were most active in repressing the violence of their Highlanders. "The Marquis of Atholl was particularly noticed for his mercy, and the Earl of Perth for his equity,"⁷ writes Wodrow, who himself, however, ventures no opinion upon the reason for the change in their ideas. It may, as he remarks, be

⁴ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XIII.*, Appendix ii. p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 50.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 423.

charitable to put it, that, beguiled by false reports as to the situation, and led on by mistaken ideas of loyalty and duty, they undertook the task of helping to reduce the Whigs to submission, but that, when they actually proceeded to the West and saw the real aspect of affairs there, their better feelings prevailed and they found it impossible to continue active in the service of the Council.⁸

A strong party of influential men opposed to Lauderdale and his system of government was thus gathering together in London. Lauderdale knew that his position with the King was certain no matter what his enemies might contrive, but was, at the same time, determined that the work of the Council should be publicly vindicated. The Earl of Moray and Lord Collington already represented his interests in London, but Lauderdale wished to appeal to a wider audience, and therefore, on April 10th, gave orders, through the Privy Council, for the printing of a "True Narrative of the proceedings of the Council in the year 1678."⁹ The document was the work of Dr. Hickes, who states that it had given great satisfaction to Lauderdale, "not only upon the account of the service it may do him in this juncture, but because His Majesty hath desired that an account might be given to the world of that insolent sect of Presbyterians which troubles the world here, so that the printer need not feare to be troubled, though it be not formally licensed."¹⁰

At the beginning of April, therefore, matters stood thus : the greater part of the Highlanders had gone home, but some of them, along with the regular forces and the Militia regiments, still remained at free quarter upon the inhabi-

⁸ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 449.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 442, where it is quoted, along with a reply to the points raised.

¹⁰ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XIII.*, Appendix ii. p. 50.

tants; the Duke of Hamilton, without leave asked from or granted by the Privy Council, was in London, supported by the Marquis of Atholl, the Duke of Perth and others of his party, determined to make a personal appeal to the King for the relief of the afflicted shires; Lauderdale and the Privy Council had resolved that their case should also be heard and had sent their representatives to Court. It was felt that matters had reached a crisis. Meanwhile, the Privy Council could rest secure, confident in the possession of a letter dated March 26th, 1678, sent to them by the King, in which they were assured of his entire confidence and whole-hearted support. "These courses being founded upon our commands," he had written, "and taken from the common interest of us and our people, wee owne as done by us; and wee hereby declare, that what ever person or judicatur shall offerr to quarrell any person for being in accession thereto, shall be punishable as murmurers against our authority and royall prerogative. And for encouragement of all such as serve us wee declare that this our approbation shall have the force of ane ample and absolute indemnity and letter of thanks to all any wayes concerned in this expedition, either in Councill, command or execution, wee having very good reason to consider the same as our speciall and necessary service." ¹

Such being the King's declared opinion, it seems strange to find that the Scotch noblemen who had gone to London were still of opinion that the King would judge with equity, were the matter represented properly to him. The Earl of Cassilis, for example, the first of the Scotch noblemen to petition the King directly, in stating his case, put it that "being assured that many of these proceedings of the Privy Council were illegal and not warranted by the statutes and

¹ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 414.

customs of Scotland, he thought it his duty to repair to his sacred Majesty as the fountain of justice, to whose sentence he is content to submit his life and fourtune." ² Cassilis and his friends were soon to find that their trust had little justification in fact. Charles had already decided as to his attitude, and showed his position well by his reception of Cassilis' petition, as described in a letter from James, Earl of Arran, to the Duke of Lauderdale, dated March 28th, 1678. "He, the king, called me to him," Arran wrote, "and said aloud that at last he had gott the paper from E. Cassels, and that he had given it to my Lord Maynard, to send it to the Duke of Lauderdale to be considered, and answered in the Councell of Scotland. That for his part he thoght it a very silly paper, and that he could make a shift to answer it himself, although he was no lawer. Yet he knew Scotland pretty well. Then he said that it was a strange thing that he had been tormented for severall weeks, with horrible complaints of the cruelty and outrages done in the West of Scotland, yet He had done them faireplay, for he had cause send down to Scotland as many complaints as he could gett, and that he had now receaved a full account of the wholl proceedings in the West, and that it was from persons he cuild trust, that he found all to be false as hell, and that there was nothing done there but what was done by law, and that things were not pushed so farr as the law allowed; that as he was a Christian he did not see what els cuild be done to prevent open rebellion; that he approved of what was done, and that he thought himself obliged in duety not to fall in a snare a second tyme, that he was now resolved to be befor hand with the Phanaticks, that he was sure they

² *Historical MSS. Commission, Report X.*, Appendix vi. p. 185. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. pp. 433-436.

made use of religion as a pretence only, that he understood their desseins, and to show religion was not their business, he had granted them indulgence and allowed them there our ministers; but that would not serve turne for they withdrew and railed more at these ministers than they did against the Bishops. That now matters were come to that hight, that there was necessity to use severity, for that now they kept feeld conventicles of 3 or 4 thousand men most armed—His Majesty said he knew Scotland as well as anybody, that he had been in it in the worst of tymes, that he was sure it was so farr from being unjust and severe, to make gentlemen answeare for there tennants, that he knew it was the easiest thing in the world for them to doe it, that there was no natione or kingdome in the world, where the tennants had so great a dependance upon the gentlemen as in Scotland, and he was glad it was so, and that therefor they must be answerable for there tennants, that all they were to doe was to punish them according to law, when they went to Conventicles.” The King proceeded to state his belief that the whole trouble was caused by the jealousy of certain noblemen of those in power in Scotland, “and therefor they must fall upon me, and stir up these people to rebellion, but they are fools and know not their own interest, for it is a foolish thing for scots men to complaine or make work heir, or to endeavour a Rebellion in Scotland, for if it should begin there and afterwards come in to England, and that England should turne Commonwealth, Scotland would be a province nixt summer after. He said he thought they wold not leik that well, I said it was not very pleasant the last tyme they tryed it, and that those persons had as good estates and as much to lose as anybody.”

After a conversation of this tenor, Arran might very well

add by way of comment: "I assure your Grace that the King takes more painse to justify the Councell and you than your Grace wold doe yourself, and sayeth the very strong reason upon all things upon all occasions, and he loves to talke of it to everybody. I never have the honour to be by but he begins the discourse and with great earnestnes doth endeavour to convince people. My humble opinion is, that your Grace wold be pleased to send up such a relation of the proceedings of and against the Phanaticks since the King's restauration, that it may be printed, it wold certainly be very acceptable to the King; and your right, and render the Phanaticks excuseless."³

A copy of the representation of his case by the Earl of Cassilis despatched by the King along with a letter to his Council in Scotland on March 26th, was dealt with at a meeting of Council on April 3rd. They answered the statements of Cassilis at some length in a letter submitted to Charles, their main arguments being that everything done in the West was justified by the state of the country, since field conventicles had been increasing so much that "there were far more armed men assembled in them almost weekly, than could be represented by almost thrice the number of your standing forces"; that they felt themselves bound to avail themselves of the services of the Highland noblemen when these offered their services "in this dangerous exigent," and that there was law and precedent for quartering the troops in the rebellious countries, particularly as only those were quartered upon who refused the Bond. Moreover, even in this matter of free quarter, it was to be noted, they said, that the standing forces were paid regularly by the Crown, and the Militia regiments as long as the stipulated allowance lasted. They considered

³ *The Lauderdale Papers*, edited by Airy, vol. iii. pp. 99-102.

the disarming of the shires and the seizing of horses fully justified by the necessity of the occasion, "these being still accounted amongst the armes and the instruments of war, and concluded by requesting that the Earl of Cassilis, since he had disobeyed the Council's proclamation forbidding anyone to leave the kingdom without licence granted, should be sent to them as a prisoner, to be tried and judged according to law."⁴

With this letter of vindication, the Committee also forwarded to the King an account of their proceedings against the Earl of Cassilis, denying particularly the allegations of "free quarter and plunder brought forward by that nobleman," although euphemistically admitting that, learning that the people of his lands had become "encouragers and entertainers of John Welsh, and other outlawed preachers" to a greater extent than any others, even in the disaffected West, they had felt obliged "for the peace of that country, to send a considerable number of forces thither, they having just reason to suspect that country as in a state of rebellion."⁵

The matters thus set forth by the Council in these two letters of vindication were put in more permanent form in the "True Narrative" already referred to as the work of Dr. Hickes, the main purport of the pamphlet being to show that the rebellion of the shires was imminent, that many at the time were urging that the commons there had so shaken off all respect for authority that the few standing forces of the kingdom would not be sufficient to bring them to order, and that to arm the Highlanders was at once the least expensive, and the most effective method of quelling

⁴ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) pp. 425-429. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. pp. 437, 438, 439.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 431. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 441.

the flame of incipient rebellion. Continuing, the writer pointed out that in fairness it was more fitting that those rebels who were responsible for the bringing out of the Highlanders should maintain them, than that those should have to suffer who had come forward to help the King in such a crisis. Although admitting that irregularities had occurred, he held that such discipline was maintained that cases of disorder were not so common as might have been expected from such a large body of men, while "none were ever complained of to the council or their committee which were not redressed, and the clamours are raised by such only as resolve to cast an odium upon all that serve his majesty; and yet the clamours against what is done in the West, are much greater in Edinburgh than in the shires who are said to have suffered, and greater at London than in Edinburgh." ⁶

In this last sentence reference is made to the presence in London of Hamilton and Cassilis, who had been joined by many others of the principal gentlemen of south-western Scotland, including Roxburgh, Haddington, and Lieutenant-general Drummond. Their opponents, Lauderdale's representatives, had also arrived at court, and on April 9th, sent their first report to Edinburgh to tell of their reception by the King. "My Lord Murray did deliver the Councill's letter to his Majesty; and gave a short account off the caus off our beeing sent up. The king said thatt y^r wes strange reports off murders, raps, robreis and uther abuses comited by thes forces in the West off Scotland and desyred to knowe what wes the treuth thereoff; thereafter his Majestie seemed to be well satisfied with the full and satisfactorie ansuer which my lord Murray gave

⁶ "True Narrative of the proceedings of the Council in the year 1678," printed in *Wodrow*, vol. ii. pp. 442-446.

him . . . to make appear the hazard off the peec we took occasion to represent the insolenceis comitted by the fanaticks, as the feild conventicles invading ministers, and their pulpits, resetting and embracing declared traitors, vagrant preachers; we mentioned the orthodox ministers flying from their houses, the hazard of y^r rysing in armes, and all things els; we mentioned the procedur off the councell by sending some off ther number to and conveening the heritors for taking course w^t ther insolencies and their ansueir yt itt was abov their reach and the letters wes sent from yt cuntrie declaring yt all was lost w^t out present remedie, and y^t the people y^r had forgot y^r wer any power above them, the building off the meeting houses, etc., And in further ansuer to the Duk of Monmouth itt was said thatt ther land sould rather ly waist then that itt sould be a nurserie for rebells; bott iff the masters wold doe their deutie itt wer easie to have deutifull tennents, for the tennents depends upon the master. The King said thatt ther wes much reason for the bond for securing the peace and thatt the alternatives wer easie for the masters, and nothing hard in itt, and the bond being offered and refused itt wes just thatt law of lawborrowes sould be made use off, he said we had in Scotland the best laws off any people in the World."

From this the King proceeded to ask what was to be said concerning the free quarterings on the people so much complained of. The answer was "thatt itt was nott to be supposed such armeis could be furnish w^t money to pay the quarters, sinc in Scotland y^r wer no cashe nor found for maintaining off armeis, And our kings hes still been in use to quarter their forces without present payment, especiallie when they ar amongst such as hes stated themselves in disobedience and rebellione." To this the King

made a reply showing clearly where his sympathies lay. "His Majesty was pleased to say I sall make itt shorter to you; iff such a shyr which he named wer in rebellion and iff I sould march into that shyr w^t my forces, most I pay for the quarter to thes rebells w^h I tak amongst them? No reason, and I am sure my father never did itt." ⁷

Charles had thus received Lauderdale's friends with sympathy and with courtesy; it was soon evident that he was resolved to show no favour to the lords of the other party, who were naturally anxious to state their case to him as soon as could be arranged. Atholl had endeavoured to gain over the Duke of York to interest himself so far with the King on his behalf as to obtain an interview for him, excusing his presence in London without the permission of the Council by representing that "he thocht a licence from the Councell had nott been necessar sinc he had attended y^t servic so long as was needful and that his troops or companies was dismysd." When the Duke of York, however, attempted to put Atholl's case before the King, Charles curtly declined to listen to any special pleading on behalf of anyone who had stood up against his chosen ministers in Scotland, saying: "No, brother, I will maintain my authoritie, I say I will maintain my authoritie." ⁸

In a short time more moderate counsels prevailed, and the King relented so far as to intimate to Hamilton and his followers that if they "did deport themselves quietlie and honestlie and nott medle w^t the french ambassador nor w^t the members off the hous of commons, the king wold appontt some to heer them, and iff ther wer anything in y^r affair y^t wold allow it, the king wold possiblie return them

⁷ *Lauderdale Papers*, edited by Airy, vol. iii. pp. 103, 104, 105.

⁸ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 106.

to Scotland w^t some recomendation to the Counsell," being careful at the same time to add, that he "wold never doe anything nor putt itt in any way to prejudg or weaken the government or authoritie off the councill." ⁹

Hamilton and his friends, however, had scarcely reached London before it was evident that they intended to effect their purpose by enlisting the sympathies of those in opposition to the King in the House of Commons.¹⁰ The most active of their friends were Monmouth and Shaftesbury; on the other hand, Lauderdale had on his side the King, the Duke of York, the Earl of Danby, and the bench of English bishops. The mission of the Scots lords to London immediately became a party question in the House, feeling on both sides running high. The attitude of the King's supporters in the House towards Hamilton and his friends was well expressed by the Countess of Wemyss in a letter sent to the Duchess of Lauderdale. "I doe represent it to myself," she writes, "as a contrivance wher in I doe not know whither ther be mor of malice and ill nature, or of follie and precipitance; ther appears much of ill nature in it, that to act ther hatred and furie they have laid hold on a season wherein his majestie is encumbered with multitude

⁹ *Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 106, 107.

Cf. p. 107. The Earl of Murray to the Duke of Lauderdale. The King said "iff it be found there correspondinge uithe the Frenshe Ambassadors or any of the Hous of Commons he would taek sever courses, iff not he thought he would return them to the Councill of Scotland and recommend them to be used uithe as much lenety as might consist uithe the peace and safety of the Church and Kingdom."

¹⁰ Thus the Earl of Moray writes to Lauderdale on 9th April: "As I am writinge this my Lord Maenrd and Lord Arlingetoune caem to me and after compaeringe nots we fynd all the paerty hear verry bussie tamperinge withe and misinforminge the members of the House of Commons, all shall be done that possibly can be to undeseave them of those malicious aspersions forged and spred abroad by them" (*Lauderdale Papers*, edited by Airy, vol. iii. p. 108).

and perplexity of great affairs, which they think to profite by, in bringing his majestie under ane apprehension of the great confusion and disorder that is in Scotland and so of a necesitie to grant their desyre, and that this may appear the mor probable they have sent up, without leave, and contrair to his majesties order, a great number of their partie, all of them persons of little or no experience in the world and of violent and boisterous passions, on purpus to mak the greatest noyce and clamour which will mak it the greter that they are all for most part persons of qualitie in this nation, this I doe think is the venome of ther desyn, bot in my poore judgement it is so foolishly contrived and managed that it is impossible it can tak efect, becaws ther is not anything that I can perseve in all thier contrivence that can give so much as the least shadow or pretext to hyd ther wreth and discontent which so palpablie shews it self throw ther wholl affair (which yet above all things they shuld have kiept hid), that it is open to every eye and will I am confident crush all their project, these are my present thoghts of this busines, which cawsis so great matter of talking and discours, bot I am verie houpfull that all this fire will goe out lyk the snuff of a candell in stench and smok." ¹

In some respects the hopes of the Countess concerning the projects of Hamilton and his party were to be fulfilled. As a matter of fact, had the King not had to face discontent in his English Parliament there is little likelihood that they would ever have gained any measure of success. Matters, however, were not going smoothly with France; the King, afraid of foreign complications, desired to have a united Parliament behind him, and was extremely anxious that the Scots lords should receive no backing in the House in their campaign against Lauderdale. Meanwhile, these noble-

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, edited by Airy, vol. iij. pp. 109, 110.

men assiduously endeavoured to obtain audience of the King, the Marquis of Atholl, who had influential friends at Court, being conspicuous in this. It might have been thought that Atholl, as a deserter from Lauderdale's party, would have had least chance of the King's favour, but, strangely enough, Charles seems to have spoken in kindlier fashion of him than of any of his colleagues.²

That the assiduity of the lords of the Party was not to be without its effect is evident from a letter sent to Lauderdale by his agents in London, dated April 15th, 1678. The King, anxious to avoid all cause of complaint in the Commons, was now desirous that the forces not of the regular establishment, still on duty in the West, should be withdrawn within a fortnight, and that no proceedings should be taken by the Council against those gentlemen who, in defiance of their proclamation, had come up to London.³

² *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. iii. p. 111.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 112, 113.

The Earl of Moray and Sir James Fouleis to the Duke of Lauderdale. Whitehall, April 15th, 1678, Moonday at 11 of the clock at night.

"May it please your Grace Having last night waited on his Majestie (in obedience to his comand) to give him a further account of the state of affairs in Scotland and to answer such questions as his Majestie thought fit to propose unto us, he was very well pleased with the information he received from us, but in regarde that by reason of the great appearance ther is of a forreigne warre, his Majtie thinks fit that all wordes may be prevented which at this time may be raised here upon occasion of frequent marching and quarterings of his forces in that kingdome, wee are now by his Majtie comanded to send this to acquaint your Grace it is his Royall pleasure that you call a meeting of his Privy Councell with all convenient expedition, after your receiving this letter, and let them know that as he is very well satisfied with their former procedors in reference to the quieting of the late disorders in the West, so he is desirous to know from them and your Grace what troopes (besides those of his standing forces) are now employed in that service? Where they are quartered? and whether that service, for this time, may be at an end within a fortnight. To the end that thereupon he may signify his further pleasure. And although his Majtie is graciously resolved to maintaine his authority in his Privy Councell there, and for that purpose

By April 18th again, Sir James Foulis had to write to Lauderdale that he, with all his friends, was much troubled at the fact that Atholl and Perth had been admitted to kiss the King's hand, and this although the King had assured him that these lords "had petitioned him in an most humble maner; thai acknouledged y^r fault and had begd pardone and had ingadged not to meddle in any publict bussines and he wes sure they would not." ⁴

At length the King, to outward appearance, at any rate, relented towards the other Scots lords, and, on April 23rd, finally announced that to vindicate "his ouneth authoretie and justice" he must give an audience to the Duke of Hamilton and his friends. As he intended, however, to listen to their petition before a body composed of not less than five members of the Scottish Privy Council, specially summoned for the purpose to London, along with the Lord Advocate and any others whom they thought fit to bring with them, ⁵ it

to discountenance and punish all persons whatsoever who either have or shall presume to violat or contemne their orders. Yet for reasons considered by his Majtie in this juncture, it is his pleasure that if any sumonds be issued out against any of the noblemen or gentlemen who came lately hither from Scotland without the Councells leav, requireing them to make their appearance ther within three score of dayes, all procedors upon such sumonds may be stopped (or if not issued out already, may be delayed) untill he shall think fitt to give further directions in that affaire; wherein his majtie will take the most proper course in this juncture, and is graciously pleased to say he will in due time acquaint his Privy Councell with it; for as he is very well pleased with all their procedo^{rs} in that matter, so he is resolved to order nothing about it but with their knowledge and advice, which doubtless will still tend the more to his interest, seeing his pleasure will certainly in all things determine them, whose only designes in all their procedo^{rs} have been to promote his Majties service, in securing the peace and endeavouring the happiness of that his Kingdome. Wee are,

"May it please your Grace,

"Your Gv. most humble & faithful servants,

"MORAY.

"J. FOULIS."

⁴ *Lauderdale Papers*, edited by Airy, vol. iii. p. 114.

⁵ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 118.

is evident that his desire to do justice was more apparent than real. In replying to Lauderdale's agents, Moray and Collington, who feared the hearing of the case even before these chosen judges,⁶ Charles showed clearly the motives for his actions. "He told us this was the only proper expedient he could fall upon to quyet the humors of the House of Commons, and all the people who wear abused by the fals informations wear spread amongst them."⁷

The King's whole purpose, indeed, was merely "to prevent the Hye Humors of the parlament that when anything should be violently moved in the Hous his servants might tell them how they had no conserne in the affaers of Scotland and that His Majesty had put that matter alredy in a method of hearinge thes pretended complaents in a proper waye, and so vindicat his oune authorety and quyet ther passionat humors which wear sueld to a great hyethe."⁸ The question of Lauderdale's administration of Scotland, however, had bulked too large in the public view to be thus calmly shelved by quiet diplomacy. Lauderdale's opponents in the House seized eagerly on the occasion thus presented. The controversy was carried on daily between the two parties, until the King became alarmed at the fact that Hamilton and his friends had so far gained the ear of the opposition in the House of Commons that a debate on Scotch affairs might be expected at the earliest moment. Hence, to ease the situation, Charles, on April 25th, sent word to Lauderdale in a letter written by the Earl of Moray that all free quartering in the West must cease immediately, although, at the same time, Moray was carefully instructed to assure Lauderdale that the King did not act thus "withe

⁶ *Lauderdale Papers*, edited by Airy, vol. iii. p. 118.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 118.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 119.

his lykinge" but because he felt "clamord upon and pinshed by the talk of the Commons Resolutions." ⁹

Charles' fears were well founded; by the beginning of May the temper of the Commons was such that they voted an Address against Lauderdale and several others of the King's chief ministers, such sympathy being shown towards the Lords of Hamilton's party that they were "hyely cryed up in the Hous for noble Patriots, nyse and gentill persons." ¹⁰ This Address against Lauderdale was presented in the House on the 8th May, and was the occasion of a heated debate, in which the reports of Hamilton, Atholl, Perth and their friends upon the proceedings in the West were constantly referred to as evidence of the most trustworthy kind on the question of Lauderdale's wrongful government in Scotland. So strong, indeed, was the feeling of the House against the Duke that it was all that his supporters could do to secure a bare majority against the Address, the vote on the first part of the Address being 152 for, 151 against, the vote on the second part 161 for, and 157 against Lauderdale. ¹

This was a sufficient climax to the agitation of the Scottish nobles against the injustice of which they had complained. The direct influence on the King, however, of this attack on his favourite was to cause him to confirm Lauderdale all the more strongly in his position in Scotland, and to utter stern denunciations against any who should in such fashion in future question his choice of a minister. His attitude was summed up in a letter dispatched to the Privy Council in Scotland on 28th May, in which he declares "Wee are highly dissatisfied with such as have raised these clamours,

⁹ *Lauderdale Papers*, edited by Airy, vol. iii. p. 122.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 130.

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 133-143.

and wee will, on all occasions, proceed according to our laws, against such as endeavour to lessen our prerogatives, oppose our laws or asperse our Privy Councill. Wee doe also recommend unto you to take all such courses as may mantean our authority, secure the peace of that our kingdome, and support the government of the Church, as its now established by law." ²

The main object of the mission to London, however, had been to secure some mitigation of the hardships inflicted upon the Western shires by the presence of the regular and irregular troops, and we have already seen that, as early as April 19th, orders had been received from the King by the Council asking that an end might be put to the free quartering of soldiers and to anything else concerning which complaint had been made. All enforcing of the Bond and lawborrows was to be suspended, at any rate for the time being, while all irregular troops were immediately to be disbanded.³ To this the Council replied that the forces would have been already withdrawn from the West had information not been received that many in the shire of Lanark still retained their arms. To disarm this shire, Colonel Robert Dalzell of the Nithsdale Militia, in spite of a petition by the inhabitants themselves and the efforts of Queensberry, had been ordered to march to Lanarkshire to relieve the Midlothian Militia, a regiment whose conduct was causing the gravest anxiety to its commander, Sir John Nicolson.⁴

The Earl of Queensberry was anxious to assure the Duke

² *Warrant Book, Scotland, Car. II.*, vol. iv., No. 328. *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 467.

³ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 455.

⁴ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix vi. p. 160. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 452. *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 403, No. 15. *Ibid.* vol. 403, No. 85.

of Hamilton that the march of this Nithsdale Militia regiment upon Lanarkshire had not taken place with his sanction, and therefore wrote to tell him that he had done his utmost with the Council to prevent these troops going to Clydesdale, but had received "a most piguish and peremptor letter . . . ordering their present march upon our hiest perrell, in obedience to which the Annandaile companys was presently in reddines (sav thes belonging to me) with which Sir Robert Dallyel came the length of Drumlangogig, bott found nothing lyck willingness ther. I ordered thes I trust to shou him itt was'nt in my poer to gett my tennents persuaded to march and ther whoill servants wer goin to the West, Galloway and Clidsdale for shelter, so bed him ous my interest as he pleast and woud bee answerable for I would axe or expeck no favor. However, he was pleast to bee moir disscreatt then ordinar, and in 2 or 3 days tym with quartering and threats they are all goit up sav a very few, and the readgment martcht towards Lannerick Satterday last. Many moir ar deficient and that he'll represent us all to the Councell (with my remisnes) I don't in the least doubt in which caice I'll have great missing of Sir G. Lockhart."

Continuing, Queensberry expressed his great dread as to how these troops might behave in the course of this expedition, which they regarded as an invitation to spoil the land and live at free plunder. "I don't think," he wrote, "many from this countrey will stay or be reed, bott these from Annandaile I fear will bee wors then the Hylanders, besyds the offishers off the whoill are the scum off the countray and all beggars sav 2 or 3 and most overjoyt att this honnourable imployment,"⁵—information which cannot have proved pleasant reading for Hamilton.

⁵ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix vi. p. 161.

Hamilton, indeed, seems to have thought that Queensberry had not done all that might have been done to prevent the assembling of this Militia and its march into Lanarkshire, and wrote angrily to the Earl on the subject, accusing him of being actuated entirely by motives of self-interest. "I am sorry," he wrote, "yours or my nevy Annandale's men should come to oppress me or any of my friends, but I know wher to lay it; and I hope never to live to be so unhappy as any particulare interest of mine should rander me in a condition to opres my neighbours and friends or be assisting in itt; but I hope to live to wether all these misfortunes. I hear of your being to be at Edinburgh, and I wish with all my soull you and your friends their may take right measures. These of late has been taken I am sure has been highly prejudiciall to those that may justly pretend to be your friends and perchance at long run may be found to be so to yourselves. . . . But, I will leave all reakinings till meeteng, and wish you may prefer more the publict interest to your own particulare one; and then I am sure you shall never have reason but to believe me as I have all ways professed to you; so I beg of you lay aside all different methods and ways, and unite close with your friends and do some thing that it may appear so to the world, wherein as you will do the best service you can to the King and the cuntrie, so it will remove all mistakes, which I am sure I wish heartely being very desirous to continew in the reall friendship our relation and interest tyes us to." ⁶

In reply to this letter from Hamilton, Queensberry in a letter dated from Sanquhar, May 21st, 1678, wrote a vigorous defence of his conduct as to the Militia regiment. "Your Grace is pleast to say very sevear things for my men's going to Lanrick with the melitia readgment off this

⁶ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XV., Appendix viii. p. 235.*

shyr," he wrote, " in which ye must exseus me to tell you ye injure me extreamly, for I nott only caust the Commissioners (of Militia) petition the Councell for ther stay bott order't matters so and gav sutch strick directions to my peopell (most whereof returned ere they gaitt ther) as your countray was better and no wors off them, nor is ther the least complent against any off them, so far wer they from oppressing you or anny els; bot iff they had bein als rud as others pray how come you to blam me; was't in my poor to stop the King's militia setteld by ackt off Parliament, or wood ye doon't in my place. Next that ye shoad mistack me in this affair and exseus others who offerd ther concurrence to destroy your countray with ther whoill fors seams hard. I'm sheur we gaint nothing by the expedition bott on the contrair itt stood the shyr over 10000 lib. and they stopt nott a week att Lanrick wher to my certain knowledg they left nott one pynt of eall to pay, bott my Lord, I perseav that in this and all things els ye'r pleast to mistack me." ⁷

This march of the Militia of Nithsdale to replace the Lothian Militia was in great measure consequent upon a letter written by Sir John Nicolson, Lieutenant-Colonel in command of the regiment, to the Earl of Linlithgow, in which he represented his troops as being in a state bordering upon mutiny. The Committee, on considering the matter, thought it better to recommend that the Council should give orders for the return of the regiment to Edinburgh, than to coerce them by means of the regular forces in the West, since this " would bot make a noise." ⁸ They therefore wrote in these terms to the Duke of Lauderdale on April 19th, having, as they said, chosen this way of

⁷ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix vi. pp. 161-162.

⁸ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series), p. 590.

"smothering this their mutiny," since, "wee doe not find that the militia is comprehended under articles of warr, for if they wer, the hanging of two or thrie of them had been the best cure for their disease and for prevention of the lyk in uthrs." ⁹

The warrant for the withdrawing of the regiment was issued on April 22nd, when the Major-General was "to give orders to Sir Jon Nicolson, leitennant Collonel of the Militia regiment under the command of His Grace the Duke of Lauderdale to call together the severall companies of that regiment that are at present quartered in and about Hamilton, and upon Wednesday nixt to march with them from thence towards Lanerk, and to quarter these companies in those parishes where the rest of that regiment is presently quartered upon Wednesdayes night, and upon Thursday yrafter to march with thyr haill companeis to the shyre of Edgr principall and there to dismisse the severall companies to yr ounne houses." ¹⁰

The Nithsdale Militia had marched to Lanark to take the place of the Lothian regiment, but the turn that affairs were taking at London rendered it unsuitable to the King's purpose either to press the Bond further upon Lanarkshire or to demand the surrender of arms, and the Nithsdale men had scarcely been a week in Lanark when they were sent home to be disbanded.¹ Towards the end of April the Committee of the West were themselves recalled to Edinburgh in accordance with the King's instructions to the Council, and finally, the withdrawal on May 10th of the garrison left in Ayr at the instance of the Bishops ended

⁹ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series), p. 590.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 591-2.

¹ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 452. *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix vi. pp. 161, 162.

this particular phase in the long struggle between the non-conforming West and the powers of Episcopacy.²

As the Committee of the West left the disaffected shires, they must have felt that, in spite of all the energy displayed in the effort to secure obedience to the decrees of the Council, their work had been singularly unproductive of practical results. The recusants had, indeed, suffered many hardships and had been severely punished for their obstinacy, but they had neither accepted the hated Bond nor consented to remain unarmed. The soldiers had not been entirely removed from the shires before the Whigs were already provided with new arms in place of those seized by the King's troops,³ such being their spirit that "many a man with but two cows was eager to sell one of them for a pair of pistols."⁴ Persecution had but made the Covenanters more determined than before to listen to the preaching of none but their own chosen pastors, and consequently conventicles were already being held again even before the leaders of the Host had left for Edinburgh. Thus on May 8th a correspondent writes to London to Sir Christopher Musgrave, "The phanattickes keep there conventicles as frequent as ever. Upon Sunday last there was 3 within 4 myles of Dumfries."⁵ Writing again to Sir Christopher from Dumfries on May 22nd, this same correspondent tells him of a large conventicle held near Glasgow on May 12th, which was dispersed by a company of the Earl of Linlithgow's regiment. "The minister," he writes, "made his escape, but they took a great many prisoners, amongst the

² *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) pp. 454, 455. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 452.

³ *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 403, No. 15.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. 405, No. 227.

⁵ *Ibid.* vol. 403, No. 15.

rest 6 merchants in Glasgow, and for the women that was ther, the souldiers left not a ring upon any of ther fingers." ⁶

Neither were those in authority in Scotland ignorant of the state of affairs; Queensberry, for example, writing to Hamilton on May 21st, 1678, says "Hill sermons wer never so frequent and numerous, tho they coomn't yett to this shyr. They thunder ananthemas against the blak-bonders (as they call us), and one maid his repentence publickly Sunday last for tacking't, befoir Mr. Welsh wood chrissen his child." ⁷ Charles himself wrote on May 7th, 1678, to his Privy Council in Scotland in a manner which clearly showed that, while entirely approving of everything done by Lauderdale, he recognised that the people of the south-western districts were as determined as ever in their opposition to the government, since "they still with great insolence flock'd together frequently and openly in ffield Conventicles, those randevouzes of rebellion." The King affected to despise "such insolent attempts" at rebellion, but at the same time, deemed it prudent to call upon the Council to provide fresh levies of troops in readiness for any possible emergency. ⁸ No one in Scotland, indeed, who knew the temper of the Covenanters and of those at the head of affairs could doubt that a conflict was imminent. Mr. Matthew Mackaile, for instance, writing to Sir John Frederic, member of the House of Commons, on June 19th, 1678, sums up thus the state of affairs in Scotland. "The kingdom is divided between three parties, the Episcopall and court interest, the interest for Liberty and priviledges, now followed by Hammilton and his partie, and the interest of religion and presbyterie,"

⁶ *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 403, No. 243.

⁷ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix vi. p. 162.

⁸ *Warrant Book, Scotland, Car. II.*, vol. iv. No. 314. *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) pp. 455-456.

although Lauderdale considered these two last factions to be divided not in reality but merely in appearance. Mackaile, like so many others, was assured that a national crisis was at hand, since armed conflict between the Whigs and the Government was inevitable. What the result of that conflict would be he could not venture to predict; "no mortal man," he writes, "can tell the event till it come to pass—both parties have hope and both parties feare."⁹

Meanwhile, it seemed as if Lauderdale were endeavouring rather to goad the Whigs on to rebellion than to conciliate them. Charles, by ordering the withdrawal of the Highland Host, had removed an intolerable burden from the shires, and had seemed, for once, to be casting reflection upon Lauderdale's policy in Scotland. If the Covenanters thought for a moment that the intervention of the King was in future to mitigate the harshness of the rule of his minister, they were soon to be rudely awakened. Before August, 1678, Lauderdale showed his opponents that he was still absolute master of the situation. Dexterously playing upon the feelings of self-interest of the servile nobles who composed his Council, he had obtained from them an Act which must have seemed to those who had already suffered so much at the hands of the Host, the last drop in the cup of bitterness forced upon them, since by its terms they were compelled to supply the money necessary for the payment of the army which had pillaged them. As if to add, if possible, to the irony of the situation and to dissipate utterly any dream of Lauderdale's waning influence, the Act also contained a strongly expressed commendation of his whole administration of Scotland.

⁹ *S.P. Dom. Car. II.*, vol. 404, No. 187.

CHAPTER V.

THE CONDUCT OF THE HOST.

THE Commission granted to the Leaders of the Host exonerated them, as we have seen, from all blame, no matter what excesses their followers might commit. These followers were for the most part poor ignorant Highlanders, many of them doubtless "broken men," accustomed to look upon the neighbouring Lowlands as the fitting ground for marauding expeditions, all of them likely as the result of habit and long training to feel that a descent in force upon the Whigs must have as its only object the accumulation of booty. In this particular case they were taking part in an expedition sanctioned by the King and led by their chiefs, who, as members of the Committee of the West, were present not to restrain their followers from lawlessness, but to point out those against whom they must direct themselves. From January till March these rude Highlanders were engaged day by day in the attempt to force an unwilling people into submission, searching their houses, seizing their weapons, leading off their horses. Inflicted as these indignities were in no kindly fashion upon men by no means easily cowed and still unbroken in spirit, the wonder is that the only recorded instance of actual bloodshed is that of the poor Highlander, M'Gregor, already mentioned, killed at Campsie on the homeward march. It is to be feared, how-

ever, that little credit is to be given for this bloodless invasion either to the members of the Host or to those who sent them forth. That a rebellion did not ensue immediately, as so many of Lauderdale's followers, eager for confiscated estates—for which, indeed, according to Burnet, they had already cast lots,¹ desired, is to be attributed not to any easy interpretation of brutal orders nor to any desire to lessen the burden for a people against whom King, Bishops, and Council were united, but to the fixed determination of the unbending Whigs that they would not gratify those who sought to goad them on to insurrection so that they might be harried from the land. Against such passive resistance the Highlanders had no excuse for bloodshed, and the most serious authentic case of violence is that of Alexander Wedderburn, minister of Kilmarnock, who was severely injured by a blow with the butt of a Highlander's musket.²

At the same time the evidence all points to the fact that violence and disorder were rampant throughout the shires while the Host remained. Many of the people, rather than abide the coming of the Highlanders, fled to Ireland. Those who remained had to submit to every manner of indignity and violence, their houses being ransacked for provisions and valuables, while they themselves went in fear of their lives,—this on the evidence of those who were with the Host, and of men in the King's service, who would not naturally be prejudiced in favour of the Whigs.³ The situation was aggravated by the fact that the invasion occurred at the season of the year when the people should have been engaged, not in protecting their property against the depredation of unruly bands of Highlanders, but in

¹ Burnet, *History of My Own Times*, vol. ii. p. 146.

² Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 429.

³ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XII.*, Appendix viii. p. 35.

ploughing—an operation which itself was much hindered by the seizure of so many horses.⁴

Such were the sufferings, indeed, of the unhappy people of Lanarkshire and Ayrshire that all Scotland was stirred to sympathy for them; “I heard what desolation was done in the West countree and what they were resolving to do anent the pursuing of these bands,” writes Alexander Brodie of Brodie in his *Diary*, under date February 27th, 1678.⁵ Again, Thomas Stewart of Coltness writes to his brother-in-law, John Maxwell of Pollock, “I am glad you are frie of the Host. The Lord comfort them amongst whom they ar.”⁶ It is true that the Covenanting sources of information are doubtless somewhat highly coloured and prone to exaggeration; but the several facts derivable from all are clear as showing that the Highlanders plundered the shires without much discrimination as to whether their victims had taken the Bond or not, that, not content with booty in kind, they demanded money from the people on one pretext or another, and that threats and a show of violence were often resorted to in order to compel the production of the coveted spoil.⁷ Nor did the soldiery always stop short at threats. An Ayrshire man, for example, “John Wallace in Crookes in Dundonald parish.” had his hand cut off by one of the Perthshire troopers, John Hunter, a member of Pitcur’s

⁴ *Historical MSS. Commission, Marquis of Ormonde* (New Series), vol. iv. p. 126. Viscount Granard to Ormond, March 3rd, 1678: “I expect that shoals of people from Scotland, and those not of the best principles, will land. For by what I can learn, multitudes of them are so plundered by the Highlanders that they have left their habitations, and have not put plough in ground this year.”

Burnet, *History of My Own Times*, vol. ii. p. 20.

⁵ *Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie* (S.H.S., Spalding Club), p. 397.

⁶ *Fraser: Maxwell of Pollock*, vol. ii. p. 320.

⁷ Complaint concerning Lauderdale’s Administration. *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix iv. p. 30.

horse. "To defraye the expenses of his cure and to help him to some maintinence" Wallace was awarded 117 pounds Scots, a sum which had just been paid as a fine by a certain James Graham. At the same time the Marquis of Atholl was recommended by the Lords of the Committee to take measures with regard to Hunter "that speedy and examplar justice may be done upon him for so great a cryme."⁸ There is no record, however, of any punishment having been exacted from the trooper.

The commandeering of horses, again, was a very serious blow to an agricultural people, concerning which complaint was all the more bitter since the season chosen for the descent was ploughing time. Not content with the free quarter granted them, the Highlanders, in wanton cruelty and mischief, killed cattle which they could not possibly use. Highway robbery was common, while in some districts the soldiery evolved even a system of blackmail, which they designated 'dry quarter.' "The meanest straggler," writes Wodrow, "exacted his sixpence a day, and the modelled forces, their shilling, or merk Scots a day, and their subalterns, captains, and leaders, their twenty-pence, half-crowns, and crowns, as they pleased to require."⁹ In other places there were instances of tribute being levied at the rate of three half-pence a day per acre of land. Under these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that the people often came into conflict with their oppressors, and that cases of minor injury at the hands of the Highlanders were common, but, although complaint was made frequently to the Committee, no redress was to be obtained,¹⁰ both because the Highlanders were very much out of hand and

⁸ *Register Privy Council, Scotland*, vol. v. (Third Series) p. 558.

⁹ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 422.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 423.

because frequently the officers were involved along with their men, although to this there were notable exceptions, the Marquis of Atholl and the Duke of Perth, for example, rendering themselves conspicuous by their humanity and their endeavours to restrain the clansmen from lawlessness. Their men, however, could not be kept back altogether from sharing in the general freebooting, and these noblemen had consequently to be content with mitigating the evil as much as possible.¹

Wodrow, drawing up a full account of the losses sustained in Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham alone, through the quartering, robbing, and spoiling of the soldiers, as prepared by the heritors for transmission to the King, estimates the amount at nearly £138,000 Scots, and adding the estimated loss from parishes not detailed in his list, fixes the whole loss in Ayrshire as not less than £200,000 Scots. To this has to be added the loss incurred by Stirlingshire, Dumbartonshire, Lanarkshire, and Renfrewshire, although none of these suffered so much as Ayrshire.

It was to be expected that an invasion, causing so much misery to those upon whom it was inflicted, would leave such an impression behind it that many particular accounts would be left of the depredations of the Host. Wodrow quotes several of these accounts² to show the barbarous methods employed by the Highlanders, and the great sufferings endured by the Covenanters. Two men who endured much at the hands of the Host were Mr. William Dickie, a merchant of Kilmarnock, and Mr. Wedderburn, minister of the same town. William Dickie had nine Highlanders quartered upon him for six weeks. "When they went off they

¹ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 423.

² *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 428. Extract from the Diary of Quentin Dick and letter from a gentleman of the parish of Dreghorn.

robbed his house, from whence they carried some sacks full of household stuff and goods; a hose full of silver money, and abused this honest man, broke two ribs in his side, and swore they would cut off his head; and frightened his wife sore by putting a derk a little into her side, that she being big with child, very soon died with the terror. This good man's loss was very great, upwards of a thousand merks." The Highlanders had set about plundering Kilmarnock on the Sunday before they left the town, and were only restrained through the exertions of their officers, to whom several private citizens gave large sums of money as the price of their intercession. It was on this occasion that the Rev. Mr. Wedderburn received that blow from the butt end of a Highlander's musket which subsequently, according to Wodrow, proved the cause of his death.³

A sad case recorded by Wodrow is that of Lady Patrick Houston, of Renfrewshire, whose husband at the time of the descent of the Host was absent in London. "A party of soldiers had sadly harassed Sir Patrick Houston's tenants in his absence, he being in London; yea, such was their rudeness to dame Anne Hamilton his lady, that not only the meaner sort, but even Sir George Nicolson, who commanded them, threatened her personally to that pitch, that she was obliged to let down the portcullis of the gate to keep them out of the house: but unhappily, she found two of her younger sons, Mr. William and Archibald, were without the gates; she was so frightened with their threatenings, and the fears of what they might do to the two boys, that she fell into a fever, of which in a few days she died; and her sister, Mrs. Grizel Hamilton, daughter of the Lord Bargeny, by waiting upon her, fell into the same distemper, and died." ⁴

³ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 430.

⁴ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 431.

Kirkton, in his *History of the Church of Scotland*,⁵ gives no such particular account as Wodrow, but contents himself with the general statement that "after they past Stirling, they, (the Highlanders) carried as if they had been in ane enemie's countrey, living upon free quarter, where ever they came." He remarks that it "was observed at that time that the heritors who had taken the bond suffered as much as they that refused it, for that sort of cattell who were their executioners were not inured to rule," and continuing, says, "As for the oppressions, exactions, injuries and cruelties committed by the Highlanders among the poor people of the West countrey, it is a business above my reach to describe; there is a whole book written upon that subject, wherein the list is more particular and full than ever my information could reach; and a thinking man may apprehend what a company of barbarous Highlanders would doe, when they were sent upon design to turn innocent people of the west countrey mad by their oppressions, in which office, indeed, you may believe they were very faithful."

The Reverend Robert Law, in his *Memorials*, bears out the same general impression of the conduct of the Highlanders. "Some of the people," he writes, "were very ill abused with the Highlanders, especially many of them were utterly herried and disabled from labour; and great summs of money, got by their dry quarters and other means, was taken out of that country, some say to the value of one hundred thousand merks Scots and above."

A more particular account of the conduct of the Host is given in the *Memoirs* of Mr. William Veitch and George Brysson,⁶ where the writer is so much impressed by the ability of the Highlanders to discover hidden booty that he

⁵ *Kirkton*, pp. 386, 387, 388.

⁶ *Memoirs* (M'Crie, 1825), Appendix p. 518.

can account for their skill upon no other hypothesis than that they were endowed with "the second sight." "In the year 1678," the narrative runs, "there was a great Host of Highlanders came down in the middle of the winter to the Westren shires. The shire of Air was the centre of their encampment or cantovning, where they pillaged, plundered, theevd, and robbed night and day; even the Lord's day they regarded as little as any other. At their first coming, four of them came to my father's house, who was overseeing the making of his own malt; they told him they were come to make the Fig (as they termed the Presbyterians) to take with Government and the King. This they came over again and again. They pointed to their shoes, and said they would have the broge off his foot, and accordingly laid hands on him, but he threw himself out of their grips, and turning to a pitch-fork which was used at the stalking of his corn, and they having their broadswords drawn, cried 'Clymore,' and made at him; but he quickly drove them out of the kilne and chaseing them all four a space from the house, knocked one of them to the ground. The next day about twenty of them came to the house, but he not being at home, they told they were come to take the Fig and his arms. They plundered his house, as they did the house of every other man who was not conform to the then laws; and such was their theevish disposition, and so well versed were they at the second sight, that, let people hide never so well, these men would go as straight to where it was, whether beneath the ground or above as though they had been at the putting of it there, search for it, dig it up, and away with it."

The author of *A Hind let Loose* gives a very vehement account of the barbarities practised by the Host, although he moderates his indictment of the Highlanders in his *Short*

Memorial subsequently written. The passage⁷ referring to the descent of the Host reads :

“ But all this is nothing to what followed ; when thinking these bloodhounds were too favourable, they brought down from the Wild Highlands a host of Savages upon the Western Shires, more terrible than Turks or Tartars, men who feared not God nor regarded man ; And being also poor pitiful Skybalds, they thought they had come to a brave world, to waste and destroy a plentiful country, which they resolved before they left it to make as bare as their own.” They showed “ that rigour and restless boundless rage, that the Children then unborn and their pitiful mothers do lament the memory, of that day, for the loss of their fathers and husbands. Many houses and families then were left desolate in a winter flight, many lost their Cattel and Houses, and some in seeking to recover them lost their lives, by the sword of these Burrio’s.”⁸ So that it was too evident both by what orders was given, the severities of prosecuting and the expressions of some great ones since, that nothing less than the utter ruin and starvation and desolation of these Shires was consulted and concluded, and that expedition at that time calculated for that end ; for what else can be imagined could induce to the raising 10 or 11,000 barbarous Savages, the joyning them to the standing forces, and with such cruel orders the directing them all to the West, where there was not one person moving the finger against them ; neither could they pretend any quarrel, if it was not the faithfulness of the people there in their Covenanted Religion, and their hopelessness of complying to their Popish and Tyrannical designs and therefore no cause so

⁷ *Hind let Loose*, p. 190.

⁸ The words “ by the sword of these Burrio’s ” are omitted in *The Short Memorial*.

feasible as to destroy them. So for despatching thereof, order is given that whosoever refuseth to subscribe that Hell-hatched bond, must instantly have 10, 20, 30, 40, moe or fewer according to his conditions as he is poorer or richer, of these new Reformers sent to him, to ly not only upon free Quarters to eat up and destroy what they pleased, but also (for the more speedy expedition) ordered to take sixpence for each common Souldier a day, and the Officers more, according to there degrees, and so to remain till either the bond was subscribed or all destroyed; nor was these Trusties deficient to further their purposes in prosecuting these orders, who coming to their Quarters used ordinarily to produce a Billgate for near as many more as came, and for these absents they must have double money, because their Landlord was not burthened with their maintenance, and where that was refused would take the readiest goods, and if anything remained not destroyed and plundered at their removing, which was not transportible, rather then the owner should get any good of it, they would in some places set fire to it, as they did with the Corn Stacks. It would require several great volumes to record the many instances of horrid Barbarities, Bloods, and Villanies of that wicked expedition, so that what by Free Quarterings, Exactions, Robberies, Thefts, Plunderings, and other Acts of Violence and Crueltie, many places were ruined almost to desolation, all which the faithful choosed rather to suffer, than to sin in complying: and albeit their oppression was exceedingly lamentable, and their loss great, yet that of the compliers was greater and sader, who lossed a good Conscience in yeelding to them, and compounding with them.

“ Then the Country behoved to pay the Soldiers for all this Service and hire them to do more, by paying the imposed Cess, whereby they were sharpened into a greater

keenness in Cruel Execution of their orders, returning to these places of the Country whether they had chased the Persecuted People, who still kept their Meetings wherever they were, though they could not attend them but upon the hazard of being killed, either in the place (where some had their blood mingled with their sacrifice) or fleeing, or be exposed to their dreadful Cruelties more bitter than Death."

The Highlanders were the most feared by the Whigs on account of their strange dress, their different tongue, their diverse manners and customs. The men of Ayrshire regarded them as "a crew of barbarous and savage men of another language and custom and of no religion."⁹ But the Militia regiments drafted to the West were as much out of hand as the Highlanders. We have seen that the Lothian Militia was saved from the disgrace of mutiny only by the Council's order that it should be marched to Edinburgh and immediately disbanded; while the Nithsdale Militia, embodied to take the place of the regiment thus dismissed, was described at the time by Queensberry as a band of ruffians officered by 'the scum of the country,' officers and men equally delighted at the prospect of sharing in the plunder of Ayrshire and Lanarkshire.¹⁰ There can be no doubt that such regiments were not far behind the Highlanders in lawlessness of all kinds. On the other hand, the small body of regular troops accompanying the Host was naturally more under discipline. Thus the writer of the *True Narrative*, while admitting that the Highlanders and the Militia regiments lived upon the shires at free quarters, and, in his opinion, rightly so, since thus the expense of their maintenance fell upon those whose conduct

⁹ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 447. Footnote "Observations upon a True Narrative."

¹⁰ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, Appendix vi. p. 16.

had made necessary their embodiment, is careful to point out that the regular regiments, both cavalry and infantry, were supported and paid entirely by the Public Treasury. The writer of the *Observations upon the True Narrative*, on the other hand, while willing to concede that the regular soldiers were more civil in their conduct than the unruly auxiliaries, states that "they did degenerate from their first civility by the influence of bad example, and the licentiousness allowed to the Highlanders," and that "they often took free quarters if not more."¹

The Highlanders had throughout the period of their stay in the West been employed day by day in gathering together as much plunder as possible, and consequently their retreat upon their withdrawal was a characteristic one. "You would have thought by their baggage," says Kirkton, "that they had been at the sack of a besieged city, and therefore when they passed Stirling Bridge every man drew his sword to shew the world they had returned conquerors from their enemies land, but they might as well have shoven the pots, pans, girdles, shoes taken off countrey men's feet, and other bodily and household furniture with which they were loaded, and among them all none purchast so well as the two Earles, Airly and Strathmore, chiefly the last, who sent home the money not in purses, but in baggs and great quantities."²

On the homeward march the Highlanders lived, as they had done before, upon the people through whose towns and villages they passed, meeting, for the most part, with but little molestation. Wodrow records, however, that some Glasgow students, along with other youths of the town, held Glasgow Bridge, the river being in flood, against a body of

¹ Wodrow, "True Narrative," vol. ii, p. 445.

² Kirkton, p. 387. Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 413.

some two thousand of them. They allowed the Highlanders to pass in companies of forty at a time, made them deliver up their booty, and then marched them out by the West Port, without allowing them to go through the city itself. "The result," he says, "was that the custom house was nearly filled with pots, pans, bed clothes, wearing clothes, rugg coats, gray coats and the like."³ It has been pertinently remarked, however, that there is no record of any effort having been made to restore all this stolen property to the rightful owners.

The Highland Host had returned to their native mountains, but they left bitter memories behind that rankled long in the minds of the people of the West, and did much to render them steadfast in their opposition to the government of Lauderdale and in their hatred of the bishops, whom they cursed as the instruments of the evil that had come upon them. These ill-advised measures of coercion and persecution had but made the Covenanters desperate and ready for any act of retaliation; the murder of Archbishop Sharp, the skirmish at Drumclog and the final battle of Bothwell Bridge formed the natural corollary to the Black Bond and the Highland Host.

³ *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 413.

APPENDIX.

SUGGESTIONS BY THE BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF CONVENTICLES IN THE WEST.¹

WHEN the forces march into the west it wold seem expedient :

1°. That a Committee of council went along with them, who may be empowered to fine confine imprison or banish as they find cause; w^{ch} committee may consist of such officers and comandars as are privie counsellors, viz. the M. of Athole, Earles of Marr, Linlithgow, Airlie, and Cathness; the Lord Ross, and the E. of Glencarne and Perth may be by the Council's autoritie adjoynd to them and also the L. Collinton if he may be spared from the session.

2°. That these westren shyres sould be disarmed, and their armee to be transported to Stirling or Edinburgh Castle.

3°. That all horses in possession of these disaffected people, which are above ye value of 40 or fiftie libs scots, could be taken from them at such rates as they shalbe estimated unto.

4°. That the forces setle first at Aire, having rested some few days at Glasgow, Aire being the centre of a great circle of y^e disaffected; and after having reduced Carrick and censured the Conventiclors in those parishes who are served by indulged ministers, they may goe to Lanerick and Clidsdale, and so forward to the stewartrie of Kirkcubright and the shyre of Galloway, in w^{ch} places since the forces are to have free quarters, particular care wold be taken, that the burthen thereof may be

¹ *Lauderdale Papers*, edited by Airy, vol. iii. p. 95. See *Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 383, for the instructions actually given.

upon y^e guiltie, and thus y^e innocent and orderlie people will find y^mselves eased and encoraged to continue in y^r orderlines and obedience.

5°. Wherever the Forces ly, the Comittee wold call befor them the transgressors; and in y^e first place wold cause rase to the ground all their new-erected meeting houses and punish the builders thereof, as prime incendiaries; and proceed against such who have mett at field conventicles or have resett or entertained Welsh, Arnot, or anie other intercomuned preachers according to y^r severall estates with proportionable fynes, w^{ch} they wold take care to cause raise with the greatest diligence; and because the guilt of field conventicling is great, and the paine arbitrarie, therfor the fynes to be exacted wold be such as may be smartlie felt by the transgressors, in all which speciall regard wold be had that y^e Ringleaders and chief abettors of these disorders should be condignelie punished as promoters of sedition and rebellious courses; who if they be heretors, deserve to be deeplie fyned, and also imprisoned; and if they be persons of no estate, some notable corporall punishment wold be inflicted upon them in terrorem.

6°. All means wold be used for apprehending and seizing the persons of Welsh, Arnot, etc. and for encoraging such as will bring them in, and deliver ym to anie officer etc. assurance wold be given them of their being discharged from whatever fynes imposed or to be imposed on them and that they shalbe exempted from quartering on themselves or tennants and that they shal be further rewarded.

7°. All such fynes as are to be Levyed wold be carefullie brocht in to y^e cash-keeper to Ly as a fund to reward such as shall approve themselves most faithfull and diligent in the present service; and his matie would be humblie moved that those fynes may be so applied.

8°. The Committee wold also oblige all the heretors in these countreys to take the oath of alledgiance, and cause them give bonds that themselves tennants and servands, shall hereafter carrie themslves peaceable and orderlie, and live in obedience to the law, and such who shall refuse so to doe, wold be censured and punished as the councel shall ordain.

9°. When these places are reduced, then the Committee and Forces may goe into Tiviotdale, and then to Stirlingshyre and to Fife and observe the same method and instructions for suppressing disorders and the disaffected there. But in all this or where the forces shall begin or end this service and in what shyres or districts, may be most advysedlie determined by the Committee and officers forsaied as they shall see most reasonable. For keeping these shyres in order and obedience for the tyme to come, it would seem expedient.

1°. That Besides the oath of alledgiance, and bonds to be exacted from all heretors ut supra for securing the persons and families of orthodox and orderlie ministers against injurie and violence and keeping the severall parishes free of conventicles, the heretors of each parish sould give sufficient bonds, under the forfeiture of six or seven thousand marks at least.

2°. Since under the pretence of furnishing the militia, armes are brought in among the disaffected people in great quantities, it seems adviseable that the militia in these shyres should be quite discharged by his Matie; and the horses and armes being once out of ye possession of those people, this wold seem to follow of its owne accord.

3°. Garrisons may be constantlie kept in Glasgo, Aire and Kirkcudbright, and sometyme in Dumfries and Lanerk, for kepping ane constant dread and awe over the disaffected and for asisting the persons intrusted by the council for punishing disorders in the shyres and districts about them, in levying fynes etc. and it wold seem convenient that no part of the forces should ly longer in any of these townes, then three months at one tyme, that by their constant changing of their quarter, the people may see such forces to be amongst them, as may suffice to keep them in order and peace.

4°. The persons intrusted for noticeing and punishing disorders in ye severall shyres etc. would be requyred to doe their duetie according to their instructions, and sett dyets would be appoynted to them for giving one account of their diligence to the Privie Council, w^{ch} would be steddilie done, and carefullie exacted from tyme to tyme.

5°. For rendring this whole service the more effectuall the

Committee alreadie appoynted for Church affairs wold constantlie and steddilie goe on at Edinb^r, and wold keep constant and sure intelligence and correspondence with that committee we^{ch} shalbe appoynted to goe along with the forces.

Endorsed :

Memor, by the Bps anent what is fit to be done for suppressing disorders in the West.

Dec. 21. 1677.

(In hand of Jo. Paterson, Bp of Galloway, aft^{ds} of Edinburgh.)

"SOME PARTICULAR MATTERS OF FACT relating to the administration of affairs in Scotland under the Duke of Lauderdale, humbly offered to your Majestie's consideration in obedience to your Royal commands."²

(From MSS. Marquess Townshend, unsigned and undated.)

1st. The Duke of Lauderdale did grosly misrepresent to your Majestie the condicion of the westren counties as if they had been in a state of rebellion though there never had been any opposition made to your Majestie's authority, nor any resistance offered to your fforces nor to the execucon of the lawes, but hee purposeing to abuse your Majestie that soe hee might carry on his sinister designs by your authority advised your Majestie to raise an army against your peaceable subjects, at least did frame a letter to be sent to your Majestie to bee signed by your Royall hand to that effect, which being sent doune to your Councell orders were thereupon given out for the raiseing an army of 8 or 9000 men the greatest parte whereof were Hylanders, and notwithstanding that to avert this threatening the nobility and gentry of that country did send to Edinburgh and for the security of the peace did offer to engage, that whosoever should bee sent to put the lawes in execucon should meet with noe affront and that they should become hostages for their safety; yet this army

² *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI., Appendix iv. p. 30.*

was marched into a peaceable country and did take free quarters according to their commissions and in most places leavyed great sumes of money under notion of dry quarters and did plunder and robb your subjects of which noe redresse could bee obtained though complaynts were frequently made.

2. All which were expressly contrary to the lawes of the kingdome. In these quarterings it was apparent, that regard was only had to that Duke's private animosities, for the greatest part of these places were mostly quartered on, and destroyed had not been guilty of any of the field conventicles complayned of, and many of the places that were most guilty were spared upon private consideracons.

3. The subjects at that tyme were required to subscribe an exorbitant and illegall bond which was impossible to bee performed by them (viz.) that they their wives and children and servants, their tenants and their wives children and servants, should live orderly according to law, not goe to conventicles or entertaine vagrant preachers and severall other particulars. By which bond those which syned it were made lyable for every man's fault that lived upon the grounds.

4. Your subjects were chrgd with lawborrowes, denounced rebells and captions were issued out for seizeing their persons upon there refuseing to signe the aforesaid bond, and the nobility and gentry there who have been ever faithful to your Majesty and had appeared in armes for suppressing the last rebellion were disarmed upon oath, a proclamacon was also issued forbidding them upon great penaltyes to keepe any horses about £4. 3. 4d. price.

5. The nobility and gentry of the Shire of Ayre were also indicted at the instance of your Majestie's Advocate of very high crimes and misdemeanors whereof some did import treason. These indictments were delivered them in the evening to bee answered by them next morning upon oath, and when they did demand two or three day's tyme to consider of their indictments and make benefitt of lawyers to advise within matters of soe high concernment and also excepted of their being put to sweare against themselves in matters that were capitall, which was contrary to all law and justice, those their desires were rejected

though the like had never been done to the greatest malefactors in the Kingdome, and it was told them, they must either sweare instantly or they would repute them guilty and proceed accordingly.

6. The noblemen and gentlemen knowing themselves innocent of all that had been surmised against them did purge themselves by oath of all the particulars that were objected to them and were thereupon acquitted, and tho' the Comitte of the Councell used the severest maner of enquiry to discover any seditions or treasonable designs which were pretended as the grounds of leading that army into those countreys yett nothing could ever bee proved, soe false was that suggestion concerning a rebellion then designed that was offered to your Majestie and prevayled with you for sending the afore mentioned letter.

7. The oppressions and quarterings still continuing, the noblemen and gentlemen of those countyes went to Edenburgh to represent to your Councils the heavy pressure that they and their people lay under, and were ready to offer to them all that in law or reason could bee required of them for securing the peace, the Councill did imediately upon their appearing sett forth a proclamation requiring them to depart the town within three days upon all highest paines, and when the Duke of Hamilton did petition for leave to stay two or three dayes longer for some very urgent affaires, that was refused him.

8. When some persons of quality had declared to the Duke of Lauderdale, that they would goe and represent their conditions to your Majestie, if they could not have justice from your ministers, for preventing that a proclamation was sett forth forbidding all the subjects to depart the kingdome without licence, that soe your Majestie might not bee acquainted with the said condicon of your subjects, a thing without all president or law for putting of your subjects from makeing their application to your Majestie noe less contrary to your Majestie's true interest (who must alwayes bee the refuge of your people) then to the naturall right of the subject.

A MOCK POEM
UPON THE
EXPEDITION
OF THE
HIGHLAND HOST

Who came to destroy the Western Shires in Winter 1678, by
Mr. William Cleland, Lieutenant Collonel to my Lord
Angus's Regiment.

(In a Collection of Several Poems and Verses, composed upon
various occasions, printed in the year 1697.)

THE LEADERS.

' But those who were their chief Commanders,
As such who bore the pirnie Standarts;
Who led the Van, and drove the Rear,
Were right well mounted of their Gear.'
With Brogues, Trues, and pirnie Plaides,
With good blew Bonnets on their Heads:
Which on the one side had a flipe,
Adorned with a Tobacco pipe,
With Durk, and Snap work, and Snuff-mill,
A bagg which they with Onions fill,
And as their strick observers say,
A Tupe Horn filled with Usquebay
A slasht out Coat beneath her plaides,
A Targe of timber, nails and hides;
With a long two handed Sword,
As good's the Countrey can afford
Had they not need of bulk and bones,
Who fights with all these Armes at once,
It's marvelous how in such weather,
Ov'r hill and hop they came together,
How in such stormes they came so farr,
The reason is they're smeared with tar,

Which doth defend them heel and neck,
 Just as it doth their sheep protect;
 But least ye doubt that this is true,
 They're just the colour of tarr'd wool,
 Nought like Religion they retain,
 Of moral Honestie they're clean.
 In nothing they're accounted sharp,
 Except in Bagpipe and in Harpe,
 For a nulobling word,
 She'll durk her neighbour ov'r the boord.
 And then she'll flee like fire from flint.
 She'll scarcely ward the second dint;
 If any ask her of her thrift
 Foresooth her nainsell lives by thift.

.

THE CONDUCT OF THE HOST.

' For truly, they more cruel carrie,
 Than ever Frenchmen under Yarie,
 Or Spaniards under Ferdinando did,
 Or French, when Duke of Guise commanded,
 Yea they more savage far than those were,
 Who with Kollkittoch and Montrose were,
 And sixtie times they're worse than they
 Whom Turner led in Galloway,
 They durk our Tennents, shames our Wives,
 And we're in hazard of our Lives,
 They plunder horse, and them they loaden,
 With Coverings, Blankets, Sheets and Plaidin'
 With Hooding gray, and worsted stuff,
 They sell our Tongs for locks of snuff,
 They take our Cultors and our soaks,
 And from our doors they pull the locks,
 They leave us neither shoals nor spaid,
 And takes away our Iron in laids,
 They break our pleughs, ev'n when they're working
 We dare not hinder them for durking :

My Lords, they so harasse and wrong us :
There's scarce a pair of shoes among us,
And for Blew bonnets they leave non,
That they can get Claunts upon,
If any dare refuse to give them,
They Durk them, strips them, and so leaves them,
They ripe for Armes, but all they find,
Is armes with them, leaves nought behind.
They take our Sables and our Pades,
They stripe our Lecquies, ripes their Pouches,
They leave us neither Beds nor Couches.
Yea to be short they leave us nought,
That can from place to place be brought,
The Red Coats can tell them who spiers,
When they with them fell by the eares,
When that their bootie they laid hold of,
They had much more than I have told of,
Where some gott wounds with sword and ball
I'm sorrie for't they were so small,
As if they could not Doe enough,
They fall on poor man at the pleugh,
Because they doe not understand,
Their Language they'll cut off their hand,
And for a prooffe, I think I have it
Took out the hand and to them gave it.
Another Instance I shall tell
In which the Irish they excel
When they a poor man had Destroyed
Of meat cloathes money made him voide,
They left him nought that they could take
Except two horses and a corne stack.
The stacke they fired through very spyte,
But with the horse they would not quite,
Till he some money them did give,
One half whereof they did receive,
To buy the other nought he had,
Yet they so savage were and mad,
While the poor man with heavie Looks,

Was begging favour from these Ruikes,
 The horse must die without remead,
 They drove Lead Bullets through his head :
 Another instance I shall give yet,
 I shall be brief and to you Leave it,
 When they by violence and force,
 Had plundered a poor man's horse,
 And Loaded him with his own gier,
 For they took more than they could bear
 The poor man followed to releave him,
 Still begging that they bake would give him,
 But finding he could not prevail,
 That his requests did not avail,
 He split the branks from his horses head
 For which they shot this poor man dead.
 Even Instantly without remorse
 Because they could not grip the horse.

.
 Their meat which is good Hens and Veal
 The best of Bread, good Ale, and Wine
 It sets them ill, shame on their kind;
 Would us destroy in a short space,
 It's true as I hold up my face,
 For they most have four times a day,
 And more at once, I'm clear to say,
 Than might sustain a great Coach Mare,
 For any half day in the Year :
 For sixty men or but few more
 They'll take up quarters for seven Score,
 An shilling Starling we must grant,
 For each person that they want,
 And six pence also they receive,
 For each Tail of them they have,
 And thus each day must be renew'd
 That they take meat, I wish they spew'd.

.
 Now had the Red Shanks ran away,
 How these behaved that did stay,

How they the Halie Kirk Reform'd
 What Castles, and what Towns they storm'd
 Whose Hens was slain, whose Geese murder'd,
 What great Designs by them was further'd
 And what great Credit to the King
 His Grace procur'd by this designe :
 How Conventickles all were quast,
 And Schismaticks destroy'd and dasht :
 And how our nobles Journeyed
 How their addresses did succeed
 Att court how they did represent
 The countries Losse, and sad complaint,
 And what success therein they had,
 And whether it was good or bad,
 How they gott off, and how things past,
 Ye'll hear when my *Parnassus* winchie
 Gets of Fount Cablin a pounchie,
 And therewith stives her empty Tearses
 And hatcht up with lumps of Verses.

For the following information I am almost entirely indebted to the efforts on my behalf of the late Mr. F. K. Macpherson, schoolmaster, Tarbolton, to whom my grateful thanks are due. Mr. Macpherson's queries were answered by the gentlemen whose names are appended to the various notes. The information with regard to the mention of the Highland Host in the various parish records, although entirely of a negative character, is nevertheless valuable.

Glasgow University Library : " Neither in this Library nor in the Hunterian Library are there any MSS. relating to the 1678 incident " (James L. Galbraith, Esq., Librarian).

Lanark : " I am sorry that the particular account of the depredations of the Highland Host in Lanark in 1678 is not extant " (James Annan, Esq., Town Clerk).

- Mauchline Kirk-Session Records for 1677-78 : " These contain no reference to the Highland Host " (Rev. Joseph Mitchell, Parish Minister).
- St. Quivox Parish : " The Records of date 1677-78 were destroyed by fire " (Alexander Moody, Esq., Session Clerk).
- Galston Parish : " The Records of Kirk-Session for 1677-78 are not in existence " (Robert Smith, Esq., Session Clerk).
- Craigie Parish : " The Session Records in my possession extend back only to 1775 " (Andrew M'Farlane, Esq., Session Clerk).
- New Cumnock : " We have no records dating so far back as 1677-78 " (James M'Farlane, Esq., Session Clerk).
- Dundonald, Kilmarnock : " Our minutes are a blank from 1643 to 1702 " (H. Gibb, Esq.).
- Auchinleck : " The Session Records in my possession do not go so far back as 1678 " (John Henderson, Esq.).
- Riccarton : " December, 1787, begins the Records here " (John A. Gordon, Esq., Session Clerk).
- Cumnock : " The oldest record in my custody is 1704 " (James Muir, Esq., Session Clerk).
- Straiton : " The Records do not go so far back " (W. MacMorland, Esq.).
- Maybole : " The Session Records do not go further back than 1777 " (R. M. Nisbet, Esq., Session Clerk).
- Dailly : " There is no record in our books of the presence of the Highland Host " (C. Goodall, Esq.).
- Kirkoswald : " There is a blank in our oldest Kirk-Session book, extending from 29th October, 1660, to 30th December, 1694 " (Rev James Muir).
- Kirkmichael : " I have made a search, and find no mention of the ' Highland Host ' in the Records " (J. Kirkland, Esq., Session Clerk).
- Beith : " We do not appear to have any Records prior to 1701 " (M. Gilmore, Esq., Session Clerk).

- Kilmaurs : "The Record for the period has been lost " (John Arron, Session Clerk).
- West Kilbride : "There is no information of the kind desired " (George M'Nee, Esq., Session Clerk).
- Irvine : "The only Session Records in our possession date from 1709 " (Robert Boyd, Esq., Session Clerk).
- Dalry : "I have no records as far back as 1677-78, all having been sent to Edinburgh Register Office " (Andrew Aitken, Esq., Session Clerk).
- Stevenston : "The furthest back records are those of 1700 " (George Forsyth, Esq., Session Clerk).
- Tarbolton : "The records are in the Register House, Edinburgh " (F. K. Macpherson, Esq., Session Clerk).
- Kilwinning : "No reference is found to the Highland Host in the records " (Andrew Speir, Esq.).
- Kilmarnock : "I can find no trace in our records of the presence of the Highland Host in our district " (M. Robertson, Esq., Session Clerk).
- Ardrossan Kirk : "The first Kirk-Session Book is begun in 1691 " (Alexander Wood, Esq.).
- Dunlop : "There is no record here relating to the Highland Host " (Rev. James Symon).
- Muirkirk : "The records are almost undecipherable, but seem to contain nothing on the Highland Host " (John Halliday, Esq.).
- Mauchline : "The Records go back only to 1692, when the parish was created " (Rev. D. C. Lyell).
- Dalrymple : "We have no Session Records further back than 1798 " (G. A. Leach, Esq.).
- Ochiltree : "We have no trace in our Session Minute Book of the presence of the Highland Host in Ochiltree " (Arch. Andrew, Esq., Session Clerk).
- Coylton : "The earliest record in our Kirk-Session books commences in the year 1700 " (J. Smith, Esq., Session Clerk).

Dalmellington : " Our records are wanting from 1666 to 1690 or '91 " (Rev. George S. Hendrie).

Friedensheim : " The Session Records of this parish previous to 1845 have long since disappeared " (Robert Marshall, Esq.).

Barr : " There are no Session Records at Barr prior to 1781 " (Rev. George Dods).

Monkton and Prestwick : " The records contain nothing relating to the Highland Host " (James Lockhart, Esq.).

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A Concise Bibliography of the
History, Topography, and Institutions
of the Shires of
Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine

By
James Fowler Kellas Johnstone

*"The deevil pay them wi' a pettle
That slight the North"*

—BEATTIE

Aberdeen
Printed for the University

1914

PREFACE

THIS is not a bibliography of every work of local authorship, or of all books printed within the district. Its scope is limited, as its title expresses, to a single branch of our literature. While it may prove useful to the reader and collector, the aim of the compiler has been to facilitate historical study and research by compressing for easy reference notes of as many sources of information as the space at disposal would contain. The subject lists are not exhaustive, although no important work has been omitted. All the books, unless otherwise noted, have been published in Aberdeen, and with few exceptions they may be consulted at the University Library.

Many of the works recommended for general reference are those of annalists born and educated within the shires, to whom, from the days of Barbour, the national history has been continuously indebted. The local roll of fame is much too extensive for inclusion, but the county biographies by the Rev. W. B. R. Wilson in "Scottish Notes and Queries," William Anderson's "Scottish Nation," the "Dictionary of National Biography," Frederic Boase's "Modern English Biography," and other kindred collections are easily accessible.

It will be observed that several books of a comprehensive character are twice noted, a redundancy due to the separate preparation and publication of the lists for city and counties. Following two earlier editions, the city bibliography was published in the *Aberdeen University Library Bulletin*, i, 699-738. The bibliography of the counties first appeared in the *Bulletin*, ii, 73-120, and 301-382. It was thought best to adhere to the original plan of the works as closely as possible, but both have been revised for this united edition.

J. F. K. J.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A. and B.* Joseph Robertson's "Aberdeen and Banff".
- A. J. N. and Q.* Aberdeen Journal Notes and Queries.
- Arch. Scot.* Archæologia Scotica. Trans. Soc. Ant. Scot.
- Bulloch.* John Bulloch's "Historic Scenes in Aberdeenshire".
- Davidson.* Davidson's "Inverurie and the Earldom of Garioch".
- F. E. S.* Hew Scott's "Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ".
- H. E.* John A. Henderson's "Aberdeenshire Epitaphs".
- J. E.* Andrew Jervise's "Epitaphs and Inscriptions".
- M. G. C.* Macfarlane's Geographical Collections.
- Misc.* *N. S. C.* Miscellany of the New Spalding Club.
- N. S. A.* New Statistical Account. 1840-45.
- O. S. A.* Old Statistical Account. [Sir John Sinclair's.] 1791-99.
- P. B.* Poll Book. List of pollable persons in Aberdeenshire, 1696.
- Pratt.* J. B. Pratt's "Buchan". 4th ed.
- P. S. A. Scot.* Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland.
- Shaw.* Shaw's "History of the Province of Moray". 2nd ed.
- Smith.* Alex. Smith's "New History of Aberdeenshire".
- S. N. and Q.* Scottish Notes and Queries.
- Temple.* Temple's "Thanage of Fermartyn".

THE CITY OF ABERDEEN

I. THE MUNICIPALITY

1. CHARTERS, RECORDS, AND REGISTERS

Anderson, P. J. Charters and other writs illustrating the history of the royal burgh of Aberdeen, 1171-1804. With translations. 1890.

— Inventories of records illustrating the history of the burgh of Aberdeen. 1890. 60 copies printed.

[Additional inventory in *S. N. and Q.*, 2nd ser., v., 171.]

— References to Aberdeen in the Privy Seal Register. 1498-1707. *S. N. and Q.*, 2nd ser., v. (1904), 101, 114.

Census of Scotland, 1911. Report on the twelfth decennial census. Vol. 1, part 4, Aberdeen city: part 5, county of Aberdeen: part 8, county of Banff: part 21, county of Kincardine. Edin. 1912-13.

Littlejohn, David. Records of the sheriff court of Aberdeenshire, 1503-1660. 3 vols. New Spalding Club. 1904-07.

Macleod, John. The Commissariat record of Aberdeen. Register of testaments, 1715-1800. Scottish Record soc. Edin. 1899.

Munro, A. M. Memorials of the aldermen, provosts, and lord provosts of Aberdeen, 1272-1895. 1897.

— Notes on the members of parliament for the burgh of Aberdeen, 1357-1866. 1889.

— Register of indentures for the burgh of Aberdeen. *S. N. and Q.*, x.-xii.; continued in *A. J. N. and Q.*, ii.-iv.

[A transcript of the record begun in 1622, made compulsory by the city council in 1632, and abolished in 1878. Contains interesting particulars of the apprentices and craftsmen with conditions and period of service, etc.]

— Register of the burgesses of guild and trade of the burgh of Aberdeen, 1399-1631. In "Miscellany of the New Spalding Club". Vol. 1, 1890. Continued to 1700 in vol. 2, 1908.

— Records of Old Aberdeen, 1157-1891. 2 vols. New Spalding Club. 1899-1909.

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Robertson, Joseph. Collections for a history of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff. Spalding Club, 1843.

— Illustrations of the topography and antiquities of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff. Vol. 2, 1847; 3, 1858; 4, 1862.

[Robertson's works contain important matter on the history of the city. The Index vol. (though marked I, 1869) treats the "Collections" as vol. 1 of the series.]

— Sum notabill thinges excerptit frome the auld recordes of the honorabill citie of Aberdeene. 1565-1635. Edin. 1834.

Ross, James A. Record of municipal affairs in Aberdeen since the passing of the Burgh Reform Act in 1833. 1889.

Stuart, John. Extracts from the council register of the burgh of Aberdeen. 1398-1570. Spalding Club. 1844.

— — 1570-1625. Spalding Club. 1848.

— — 1625-1642. Scottish Burgh Record Soc. Edin. 1871.

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— List of pollable persons within the shire of Aberdeen, 1696. 2 vols. 1844.

— The Miscellany of the Spalding Club. Vol. 5. 1852. Containing:—

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Missives to the provost, baillies and council, 1594-1688.

Town Council. Minutes and proceedings, 1883, etc. In progress. 1884, etc.

Turreff, Gavin. Antiquarian gleanings from Aberdeenshire records. 1859. Reprinted 1871.

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2. GENERAL HISTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY

Bulloch, John. Aberdeen three hundred years ago. 1884.

— Historic scenes in Aberdeenshire. *Weekly News*. 1883.

[In this long and important series of 117 articles the history of the city begins 24 April and continues weekly to 8 October, 1883. Every parish in the county is described, the last item appearing on 11 July, 1885.]

Cadenhead, George. Sketch of the territorial history of the burgh of Aberdeen. 1878.

Carnegie, Alexander, and others. Aberdeen. In "Statistical account of Scotland". Vol. 19, pp. 140, 633. Edin. 1797.

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Douglas, Francis. A General description of the east coast of Scotland from Edinburgh to Cullen. Paisley, 1782. 2nd ed. Abdn. 1826.

[202 of the 310 pp. of this work relate to Aberdeen.]

Duncan, William, and Torrie, Alexander. Topographical sketches by Mr. Peter Peebles. Twelve articles in *The Observer*, between 19 July, 1833, and 30 Jan., 1835.

[The offprints in 12mo are now very scarce: the largest collection I have seen, belonging to Mr. William Walker, is not quite complete. The pagination is continuous. Most of the articles relate to country districts.]

Gordon, James. Abredoniae vtrivsqve descriptio. A description of both touns of Aberdeen. [1660.] With a selection of the charters of the burgh. Ed. by Cosmo Innes. Spalding club. Edin. 1842. With illustrations and maps.

[The "Descriptio," with a more accurate translation, is included in "Macfarlane's Geographical Collections," vol. 2. Scot. Hist. soc. Edin. 1907.]

Henderson, William, and others. City of Aberdeen and parish of Old Machar. In the Statistical account of Aberdeenshire. Edin. 1843. Vol. 12 of New Statistical Account of Scotland.

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II. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

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IV. COMMERCE

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V. MISCELLANEOUS INSTITUTIONS

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VI. THE PRINTER

[The inestimable art of printing was introduced to Scotland at the direct instance of William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, founder of the university (1494), who required class and service books for his students and clergy. Probably the first book to pass through the press of Andro Myllar at Edinburgh, 1507, was a Scoto-Latin Rudimenta by John Vaus, professor of humanity, of which only a single leaf has been preserved in the University library. Ten leaves of poems by William Dunbar printed by Myllar from the same imperfect fount of Gothic type are preserved in a volume in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Early in 1508, with the accession of a larger and better fount, Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar issued many books from their press, two of which, with fragments of seven others are bound up in the same volume. Among these relics are four leaves of *The Buke of Gude Counsaile to the King how to reull his realme*, attributed to Bishop Elphinstone, and three leaves of *The Porteous of Noblenes*, by Andrew Cadiou, Aberdonensis, laureated M.A. at Paris, 1472, burgess of Aberdeen, 1480, who practised in his native city for many years as a notary and forespeaker (advocate). Bishop Elphinstone's Breviary of Aberdeen, 2 vols., was finished at the press of Walter Chepman, Edin. 1510. The story is partly told in the undernoted works of Dickson and Edmond.]

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Dickson, Robert, and Edmond, J. P. The Annals of Scottish printing. Lond. 1890.

Edmond, J. P. Arms of the city of Aberdeen as represented in printers' woodcuts. With notices of the linen and stocking stamps [by Alexander Walker]. 1883.

Walker, Alexander. The Printer, a lecture. 1890.

VII. PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Almanacs

A New Prognostication for the year of our Lord 1623 . . . Aberdeen, printed by Edward Raban for David Melvill. 1623.

The Aberdeen almanac and northern register for 1914. Printed at the Aberdeen Daily Journal Office. Annual issue : current.

[The earliest and latest issues of the oldest periodical in Europe, published annually by Edward Raban and his successors in the business established here in 1622. Within comparatively few years the almanac acquired an astonishing reputation, its fame becoming a bye-word throughout Scotland, and by 1677 the average annual circulation was 50,000 copies, "in that age a surprising number," said Dr. Joseph Robertson in an historical notice in the "Edinburgh Almanac" of 1838. Its success induced piracy by the printers of Edinburgh and Glasgow, who, on the application of John Forbes, the Aberdeen printer, were inhibited by the Privy Council in 1684. But counterfeits, omitting the Aberdeen city arms and imprint, increased and multiplied, and one of them, begun by James Watson, Edin. 1708, bearing to be edited by Merry Andrew at Tamtallon Castle, continued to be issued at all events until 1794. James Nicol (1710-36), by issuing editions simultaneously in Aberdeen and Edinburgh, somewhat discomfited the metropolitan pirates. He also adopted the method of printing the almanac as a broad sheet, one side only, part of the edition being folded and stitched as a booklet of 24 leaves. This was continued by James Chalmers, his successor, and by his son, James Chalmers the second, who introduced the large and important addition of national and local public lists in 1771. The broad-sheet system was continued until 1789, and the Chalmers press also issued a chapbook edition, examples of which, resembling those of the seventeenth century, are extremely rare. Writing from Edinburgh, 7 Dec., 1786, to his friend, Gavin Hamilton of Mauchline, Robert Burns, humorously alluding to his own successes, remarks, "You may expect to see my birthday inserted among the wonderful events in Poor Robin's and Aberdeen Almanacks". The fame of the Aberdeen Almanac was never better deserved than at the present day, for one need but open its pages anywhere to perceive at once its completeness and importance as an historical record, and to mark with wonder the contrast between the four unnumbered leaves of its humble first issue of 290 years ago and the 452 pages of the current edition.]

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Aberdeen's New Almanack. 1682.

Bon-Accord's Ephemeris, or new Prognostication. 1684.

Aberdeen's True Almanack. 1685.

A New Prognostication, or Aberdeen's True Almanack. 1686.

Vox Urania, or Aberdeen's true Astral Gazette. 1687.

Gloria Deo in Excelsis. Good News from the Stars, 1703, or
Aberdeen's new Prognostication . . .

An Almanack : or, Aberdeen's New Prognostication. 1735.

Aberdeen Almanack for the year MDCCCLXXI.

Aberdeen Almanac and Northern Register for 1807. Current
series.

[The above are noted as examples of variations of title.]

The New Aberdeen almanac, and Complete Northern register,
1803-06.

[Published by John Burnett.]

The New Aberdeen almanac. 1837-38.

[Published by Lewis Smith.]

North of Scotland almanac. 1840.

[Published by George Cornwall. *S. N. and Q.*, 2, ii., 140, 157.

These were not successful in displacing their old-established
rival, but the addition of "Northern Register" to the title of
the Chalmers issue of 1807 indicates that Burnett's copyright
had been acquired.]

Supplement for Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire. 1865.

[To Oliver & Boyd's Edinburgh almanac. Printed at Journal Office-
Annual issue. Current.]

Directories

A Directory for the city of Aberdeen. 1824/25 to 1839/40.

The Aberdeen Post-Office directory for 1835/36.

The Bon-accord directory. 1840/41 to 1845/46.

The Post-Office and Bon-accord directory. 1846/47, 1847/48.

The Post-Office directory. 1848/49 to 1853/54.

Cornwall's New Aberdeen directory. 1853/54.

Directory for the city of Aberdeen. 1854/55, 1855/56.

The Aberdeen Post-Office directory. 1856/57, 1857/58.

Post-Office Aberdeen directory. 1858/59 to 1912/13. Annual
issue. Current.

CITY OF ABERDEEN

Principal Newspapers

The Aberdeen's Journal, from Tuesday, Dec. 29, 1747, to Tuesday, Jany. 5, 1748.

[Weekly issue. Current. The oldest newspaper in Scotland. The **Aberdeen Journal** became a daily issue in 1876, the weekly edition being also continued. Current.]

Aberdeen Intelligencer. No. 1. Oct. 3, 1752.

[Weekly till Feb. 22, 1757, when it was absorbed in the Journal.]

Aberdeen Chronicle. No. 1. Oct. 9, 1806.

[Continued weekly till Aug. 25, 1832, when it became :—]

Aberdeen Herald. No 1. Sept. 1, 1832.

[Weekly issue merged in the Free Press, 1876.]

Aberdeen Observer. No. 1. March 27, 1829.

[Weekly, ending Sept. 8, 1837; succeeded by :—]

Aberdeen Constitutional. No. 1. Sept. 16, 1837.

[Weekly till July 26, 1844.]

Banner. No. 1. May 2, 1840.

[Weekly till May 30, 1851.]

North of Scotland Gazette. No. 1. April 1, 1847.

[Weekly till April 28, 1853. Succeeded by :—]

Aberdeen Free Press. . . . No 1. May 6, 1853.

[Weekly issue, with which the Herald was merged 1876. Current. The **Free Press** became a daily issue May 4, 1872, the first morning daily in Aberdeen; the weekly edition being also continued. Current.]

Weekly News. No. 1. Dundee, May 12, 1855: Aberdeen, Dec. 10, 1864. Current.

People's Journal. No. 1. Dundee, Jany. 2, 1858. No. 171. Aberdeen, Apr. 6, 1861. Current.

North Star. . . . No. 1. Oct. 7, 1870.

[Evening daily till May 3, 1871. The first evening and halfpenny newspaper issued in Aberdeen.]

Aberdeen Evening Express. No. 1. Jany. 20, 1879. Current.

Aberdeen Evening Gazette. No. 1. Jany. 23, 1882. Current.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Aberdeen Journal and its history : the men who made it. 1894.
The Aberdeen Journal, 1748-1897 : our 150th year. 1897.
Concerning three newspapers, Aberdeen Daily Journal, Aberdeen Weekly Journal, Aberdeen Evening Express. 1900.

[See note on extant files of Aberdeen newspapers, *S. N. and Q.*, ix, 70. The only complete file of *Aberdeen Journal* is in the University Library.]

Magazines, etc.

Aberdeen Advertiser. 1835.
Aberdeen Censor. 2 vols. 1825-26.
Aberdeen Citizen. 1 vol. 1858-59.
Aberdeen Gleaner. 1830. Another. 1833.
Aberdeen Illustrated Magazine. 1875.
Aberdeen Independent. Monthly. 1830-31.
Aberdeen Lancet. Nos. 1-3. 1831.
Aberdeen Literary Gazette. 1840.
Aberdeen Magazine. 1761. Other issues, 4 vols., 1788-91 ; 3 vols., 1796-98 ; 2 vols., 1831-32 ; 1 vol., 1841 ; 1 vol., 1854.
Aberdeen Monthly Chronicle. 1842.
Aberdeen Monthly Circular. 1840.
Aberdeen New Shaver. 1837-40.
Aberdeen Pirate. 1832-33. Continued as *Aberdeen Mirror*, 1833, and *Aberdeen Shaver*, 1833-37.
 [See "The Black Kalendar," 1853, p. 218.]
Aberdeen Post-Office Magazine. 1900.
Aberdeen Review. 1843.
Aberdeen Sanitary Reformer. 1861-62.
Aberdeen Spectator. 1841-42.
Aberdeen Star. Weekly. 1826-27.
Aberdeen Teetotaller. 1839.
Aberdeen Templar. 1888.
Aberdeen Tide Tables. 1821. In progress.
 [Annual issue ; various titles, now *The Mariner's Nautical Almanac.*]
Aberdeen Voluntary Churchman. 1833-34.
Aberdeen Water Cure Journal. 2 vols. 1859-60.
Aberdeen Y.M.C.A. Bulletin. 1879.
Bon-Accord. No. 1. Jany. 3, 1880. Illustrated weekly. Several series. Current.

CITY OF ABERDEEN

- Bon-Accord Reporter.** 1842-43.
Brown's Bookstall. 1892. Monthly at first, then occasional.
In progress; No. 77, March, 1913.
Cairngorm Club Journal. Vol. 1. 1896. Current.
Caledonia. Monthly. 1 vol. 1895.
Caledonian Magazine or Aberdeen Repository. Vol. 1. 1786-87.
New series, vol. 1-5. 1788-90.
Castle Spectre. 1 vol. 1876-88.
Chameleon. 1852-95.
Eccentric Magazine. Loungers' commonplace book. 1820-21.
Halloa! 1887.
Inquirer. Weekly. 1804-05.
Intruder. 1802.
In Memoriam, an obituary of Aberdeen and vicinity, 1890. 1891.
Annual issue. In progress.
John Knox. 1842-43.
Kenilworth Magazine. Monthly. 1911.
Letter of Marque. 1834.
Magnet. 1850.
Mirror. 1 vol. 1881.
North of Scotland Family Journal. 1846-47.
Northern Figaro. Vols. 1-34. 1884-1903. Illustrated weekly.
Northern Iris. 1826.
Northern Gazette, literary chronicle and review. 1787.
Oddity. 1882.
Our Magazine. 1873-75.
Phonographic Note-Book. 1862-64.
Popery Exposer. 1830-31.
Portfolio. 1830.
Porthill Sunday School Teacher's Magazine, 1871-75.
Quizzing-Glass. 1834.
Rural Echo. 1850.
Scots Champion and Aberdeen Free Press. No. 1. 1832.
Scottish Church Review. 1884-85.
Scottish Miscellany. 1861.
Tyro: Aberdeen Young Men's Literary Union. 1854.
Water Kelpie. 1827.

THE THREE COUNTIES

VIII. GENERAL HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL REFERENCE

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- Anderson, John.** Calendar of the Laing charters. 854-1837. Edin. 1899.
- Anderson, William.** The Scottish nation. 3 vols. Edin. 1867.
- Bain, Joseph.** The Edwards in Scotland, 1296-1377. Edin. 1901.
- Calendar of documents relating to Scotland. 1108-1509. 4 vols. Edin. 1881-88.
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- Billings, R. W.** The Baronial and ecclesiastical antiquities of Scotland. 4 vols. Edin. 1845-52.
- [Thirty-five local views, with historical descriptions by Dr. John Hill Burton.]
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- Boece, Hector.** *Scotorum historiæ*, lib. xviii. Paris, 1526. With additions by Ferrerius. Paris, 1575.
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- Buckle, Henry Thomas.** History of civilization in England. 2 vols. Lond. 1858-61. In "The World's Classics". 3 vols. Lond. 1903-4. [Scotland, vol. iii.]
- Bulloch, John Malcolm.** The House of Gordon. 2 vols. New Spalding Club, 1903-07.
- Burnet, Gilbert.** History of my own time. 2 vols. Lond. 1724-34. Many eds.

- Burton, John Hill.** The History of Scotland. 9 vols. Lond. 1853-70 ; also 1876. Popular ed. 1883.
- Narratives from criminal trials in Scotland. 2 vols. Lond. 1852.
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- Campbell, Wilfred, and Bryce, George.** The Scotsman in Canada. 2 vols. [Montreal, 1912.]
- Chalmers, Alexander.** The General biographical dictionary. 32 vols. Lond. 1812-17.
- Chalmers, David.** De Scotorum fortitudine, etc. Paris, 1631.
- Chalmers, George.** Caledonia. 3 vols. Lond. 1807-24. New ed., 7 vols., Paisley, 1887-94, and Index vol. 1902.
- Chambers, Robert.** Domestic annals of Scotland. 3 vols. Edin. 1858-61.
- Biographical dictionary of eminent Scotsmen. 5 vols. Edin. 1859.
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- Chronicle of nineteenth century.** Aberdeen Free Press. 1901.
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[Aberdeenshire, p. 41; Banffshire, p. 43; Kincardineshire, p. 48.]
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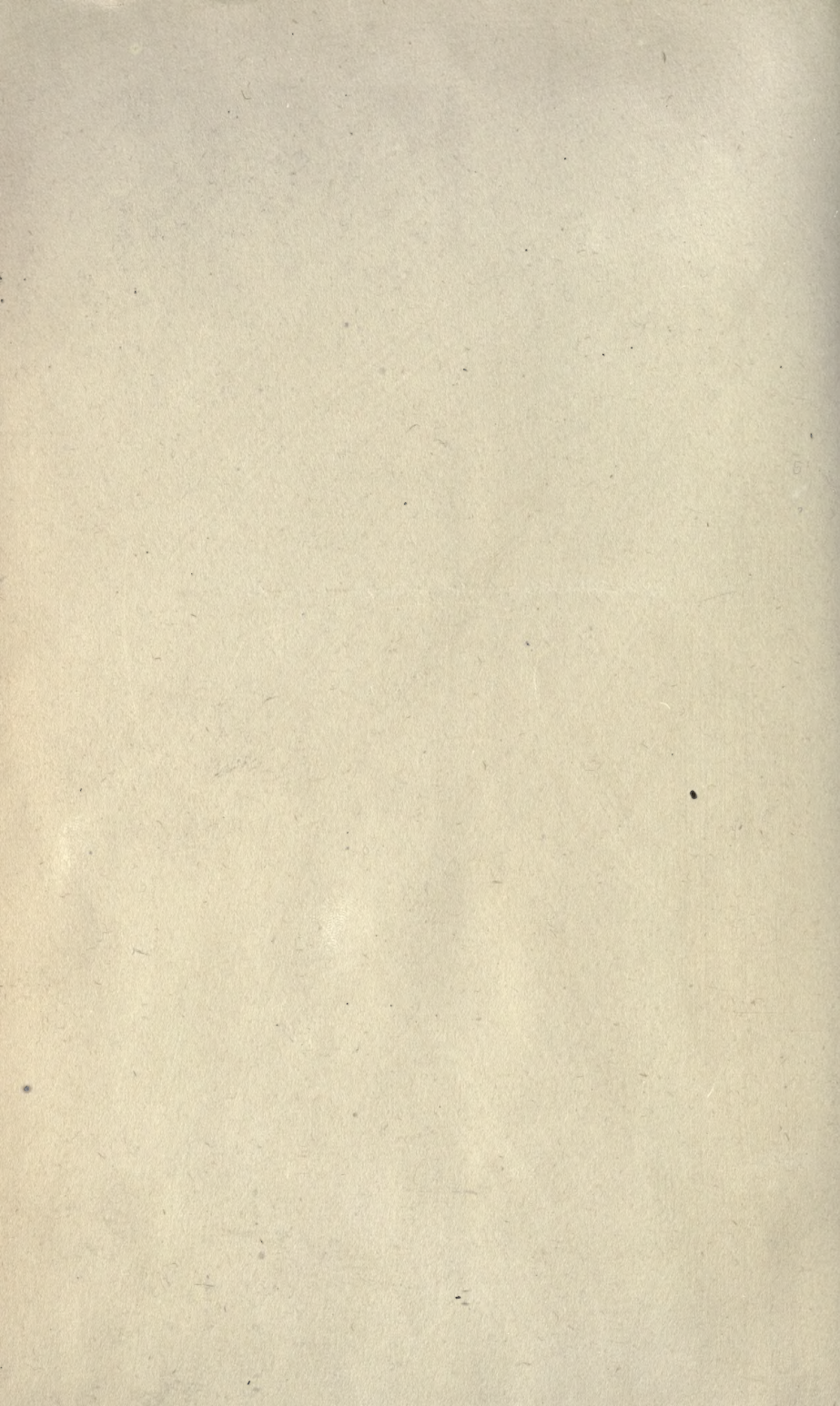
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